NARRATIVE IN EGYPTIAN ART

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Volume I

TEXT

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To my Parents

in love and gratitude

"... and pray: 'Lord, increase my knowledge' ".

Gracious Kuran

"Let not thy heart be puffed-up because of thy knowledge; be not arrogant because thou art a learned man. Take counsel with the ignorant as well as the learned. The limits of skill cannot be attained, and there is no man equipped to his (full) advantage".

Ptah-hotep

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Preface

When I first came to Liverpool in the cold winter of 1963, I had the idea of working on a subject in Egyptian art. Thus, when at our first meeting Professor Fairman suggested the subject of narrative, I welcomed the idea wholeheartedly.

To my mind art, like any other aspect of human life, is a direct response to historical, social and ideological factors in any given society. These factors play a great role in creating its forms, establishing its concepts and inspiring its subjects. Egyptian art was undoubtedly dominated by these factors. During the different periods of Egyptian history, art eloquently expressed the underlying concepts and ideas of each period. Therefore, the historical and social background of each individual period is vital for the understanding of its 'mood' and consequently for the understanding of any artistic development. This we give. Then, the pictorial representations bearing on narrative are discussed with special reference to the narrative qualities in each one of them.

Throughout the different stages of my work, I enjoyed the kindness, encouragement and help of my supervisor Professor H. W. Fairman to whom I wish to express my deepest gratitude. My thanks also go to my dear friend Mr. K. A. Kitchen who gave me of his time and effort beyond anything that I had dreamt. My thanks are also due to my friend

M. H. el-Naggar, to Miss Christine Davies for typing the thesis in such an attractive form and to Miss Alison Laws for the map on plate 1.

Finally, I wish to express my thanks to the Government of the United Arab Republic for providing the scholarship which made this work possible.

List of Abbreviations

AASOR	-	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, New Haven
AJSL	-	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, Chicago
Anc.Eg.	-	Ancient Egypt, London
ANET	-	J. B. Pritchard (ed.), Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament, Princeton, 1st ed., 1950, 2nd ed., 1955
ASAE	-	Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Cairo
BASOR	-	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, New Haven
BIÉ	-	Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien/d'Égypte, Cairo
BIFAO	-	Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo
BMMA	-	Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York
CAH^2	-	I.E.S. Edwards, C.J. Gadd, N.G.L. Hammond, eds., Cambridge Ancient History, vols. I & II, 2nd revised ed., 1961 ff.
Chr. d'Égypte	-	Chronique d'Égypte, Brussels
Gardiner, Onomastica	-	(Sir) A. H. Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica, 3 vols., Oxford, 1947
IEJ	-	Israel Exploration Journal, Jerusalem

JAOS - Journal of the American Oriental Society, Baltimore

JARCE - Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt, Cambridge, Mass.

JBL - Journal of Biblical Literature, Philadelphia

JCS - Journal of Cuneiform Studies, New Haven

JEA - Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, London

JESHO - Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, Leiden

JMEOS - Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society, Manchester

JNES - Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago

JPOS - Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society, Jerusalem

JWH - Journal of World History (Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale), Paris

LAAA - Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, Liverpool

L.D. - C.R. Lepsius, Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopen, Abteilungen I-VI, Berlin, 1849-59

MDIK - Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo, Wiesbaden

Mém. Miss. fra. - Mémoires ... de la Mission archéologique française au Caire, Cairo & Paris

MIFAO	-	Mémoires ... de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale au Caire, Cairo
MIO	-	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung, Berlin
MMA Bull.	-	see BMMA
MVAG	-	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft, Berlin & Leipzig
OIP	-	Oriental Institute Publications, Chicago
OLZ	-	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, Leipzig
Porter & Moss, Bibliography	-	Misses B. Porter, R.L.B. Moss, E.W. Burney, Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings, 7 vols. in 8, Oxford, 1929-64
PSBA	-	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, London
RAPH	-	Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire, Cairo
RdÉ	-	Revue d'Égyptologie, Paris
Rec. de Trav.	-	Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes, Paris
RHJE	-	Revue de l'Histoire juive en Égypte, Cairo
Smith, History	-	W. Stevenson Smith, A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom, Boston, 2nd ed., 1949
Urk.	-	G. Steindorff (ed.), Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums, Leipzig & Berlin, 1903 ff.

Wb.	-	A. Erman & H. Grapow (eds.), Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache, 7 vols., Leipzig & Berlin, 1926-63 (Belegstellen to 1953)
Wreszinski, Atlas	-	W. Wreszinski, Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte, vols. I-II, Leipzig, 1923-35
ZA	-	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, Berlin
ZAS	-	Zeitschrift fur Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, Leipzig & Berlin
ZDPV	-	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, Wiesbaden

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Egyptian artist did not know what is called art for art's sake. From his practical point of view, art had to be utilised to serve a certain purpose. And because their religious and funerary beliefs had such strong influence on the Ancient Egyptians, the places in which their artistic manifestations are found are principally temples and tombs. Architecture, sculpture in the round, low relief sculpture (both sunk and raised) and painting are all forms of expression greatly influenced by the religious and funerary ideas and usages for which they were employed.

It must be pointed out from the beginning that we are concerned here chiefly with low relief and painting. In the temples, low relief was used exclusively. In tombs, different conditions obtain. Throughout the Old and Middle Kingdoms, low relief was mainly in use, though painting is found in Meidum from the Old Kingdom and in Beni Hasan from the Middle Kingdom. The majority of the tombs of the New Kingdom, that are now known and available, are to be found in the Necropolis of Western Thebes. Here low relief was employed wherever the quality of the rock permitted. The strata of the good quality limestone, however, are relatively restricted and for the most part occur towards the lower levels of the cliffs. Hence, as a general rule, relief is found in a handful of late XVIIIth Dynasty tombs which were in the

limestone strata[1]. The majority of the Theban tombs are cut in rock of much poorer quality which is incapable of taking relief. In these tombs therefore, the wall surfaces were first plastered and then the scenes were painted[2].

It should be borne in mind, however, that in temples and tombs all reliefs were intended to be painted and many details were shown only in paint[3].

1. Technical Methods used in Low Relief and Painting

It is not our purpose here to study in detail the technical methods employed in executing relief and painting in Ancient Egypt. But at least a short account of them may be included for the interest of the general reader. Before we give this account, however, it must be understood that it is only a general one and naturally there are many variations according to period, place and circumstances.

The following steps were taken for rendering the low relief sculpture on

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(1) Tombs that contain scenes in low relief include, for instance, those of Ramose No. 55, Khaemhet No. 57, Kheruef No. 192 and Puyemre No. 39; See N. deG. Davies, The Tomb of Nakht, New York, 1927, p.6.

(2) The tombs of Deir el Medinah for example, as well as the tombs of Menna No. 69 and Sennufer No. 96.

(3) Nina Davies, Ancient Egyptian Painting, III, Chicago, 1936, p. XLIf.

the wall of a tomb[1]. After the surface of the wall had been prepared by the quarry men and masons, a preliminary outline sketch was drawn in red pigment[2]. In some cases the figures were corrected in black, presumably by a master artist. A sharp, pointed tool was then used to cut the sketched figures and to remove the background. This was followed by cutting the details, modelling the various forms and rounding the contours of the body and limbs which had been left angular in the first cutting. A very thin coat of plaster then covered the reliefs in order to take the colour. This, naturally, obscured the outlines of the first sketch, and so a reoutlining was done in red pigment. This was followed by the application of the main masses of colour. Finally the inner details were added[3].

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(1) For a detailed study of this point, particularly in the Old Kingdom, see Caroline R. Williams, The Decoration of The Tomb of Per-neb, New York, 1932, pp. 3-37. Also for a rather broader study and many examples, see W. S. Smith, A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom, 2nd. ed., Oxford, 1949, pp. 244 ff.

(2) In some tombs black pigment was used to draw the preliminary sketch, and very rarely yellow. See Williams, op.cit., pp. 3-4.

(3) The squared grid which was used to keep the proportions of the figures in order was not known in the Old Kingdom and the artist sought the help of the more limited "guide lines" which ran horizontally and vertically. See ibid, pp. 7 ff., pls. VI-X, and see also Smith, op.cit., p.247.

As regards painting, the customary method used was also carried out in several steps[1]. First, the excavated wall was covered with a thick layer of mud mixed with chopped straw[2]. Then a coat of lime-plaster or gypsum was laid upon this when it was dry, to provide a suitable surface for painting[3]. After this, the wall had to be divided into a network of squares of various sizes by snapping across it a string dipped in red ochre. The figures were then sketched in with red pigment, as was done with relief. Next the background was put in white, yellow or pale blue, although in many tombs the background was left for the coat of lime-plaster. The colour masses were then applied and finally the precise outlines of each figure were completed.

The colours of the Egyptian palette, which were all earth and mineral pigments, were fairly limited[4]. These were red, yellow, brown, black, blue

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(1) See Marcelle Baud, Les dessins ébauchés de la nécropole thébaine, Le Caire, 1935, pp. 35-49; E. Mackay, "The Cutting and Preparation in Tomb Chapels in the Theban Necropolis", in JEA 7 (1921), pp. 154-168; and see also Mrs. Davies, op.cit., pp. XXXIII - XXXV.

(2) In some tombs where the rock was of a very bad quality, holes were often filled up with pieces of limestone and mud mortar; these were eventually hidden by the general layer of mud-plaster, see Mackay, op.cit., p. 159.

(3) In some of the Beni Hasan tombs the colour was applied directly to the stone, see Mrs. Davies, op.cit., p. XXIII.

(4) For a complete study and chemical analyses see A. Lucas, revised by J. R. Harris, Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries, 4th ed., London, 1962.

green and grey. The red, yellow and brown pigments were all ochres, natural oxides of iron that occur plentifully in Egypt. The black was carbon in some form, mainly soot and rarely charcoal. In the earliest examples azurite, which is a native blue carbonate of copper, was used as blue pigment. "The principal blue pigment of ancient Egypt", to quote Lucas, "was an artificial frit that consists of a crystalline compound of silica, copper and calcium (calcium-copper silicate)". Powdered malachite, or an artificial frit analogous to the blue frit were employed as green. The grey was a mixture of black and white.

Since painting a tempera was the only technique employed in applying these colours to the walls[1], some of them, the green and blue in particular, required an adhesive medium. Unfortunately this medium has never been identified with certainty. But as glue, gum arabic and albumin were easily obtainable materials, it is highly probable that they were used to serve this purpose. It has been proved, however, that beeswax, mixed with the pigment, was used as binder in the New Kingdom, although it was more frequently used as a varnish applied to the surface of the painting[2].

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(1) Painting in fresco method, that is applying colours mixed with lime and water to a surface of wet plaster, was not employed in Ancient Egypt; see Mrs. Davies, op.cit., p.XXXI.

(2) Some sort of resin was used as varnish also; see E. Mackay "The Use of Beeswax and Resins as varnishes in Theban Tombs" in Anc. Eg., 1920, pp.35-38.

Two kinds of brushes were used in applying the paint. The first was small and stumpy, made of fibres doubled over and bound back. The second kind was made of fibrous wood frayed at one end[1]. The chisel and mallet were the main tools employed in executing low relief sculpture[2].

2. The Conventions of Egyptian Drawing

People unfamiliar with Egyptian art will find difficulty in appreciating its way of rendering nature. To them it must look at first incomprehensible and strange. This is so because the intentions of the Egyptian artist were entirely different from ours. He wanted his representations to be informative rather than impressionistic. In order to achieve this aim he approached nature from a standpoint different from ours. This approach of his was conceptual rather than visual. In other words, the Egyptian rendered nature not as he saw it but

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(1) In tomb No. 20 at Thebes, the two kinds of brushes were found in a bundle; N. de G. Davies, Five Theban Tombs, London, 1913, p.5, pl. XVII. The study of the material used for this purpose was done, however, by Lucas, op.cit., pp. 133-134; see also Mrs. Davies, op.cit., pp. XXXIIf.

(2) It has been rightly noticed that while there are several pictures showing artists sculpturing or decorating a statue, no picture has been found of a low-relief sculptor or painter at work; Mlle. Baud, op.cit., p. 43.

as he knew it to be[1]. Consequently the artist represented an object from more than one angle. This of course contradicts the rules of perspective as we know them. But this did not trouble him at all, as he, possibly through ignorance or negligence, had no intention of using them. On the other hand, the artist avoided the rendering of the transitory aspects of nature. Hence it was not necessary to depict the incidental movement in, for instance, the human figure.

Bearing in mind the utilitarian nature of Egyptian art, together with the conceptual approach, with the avoidance of the transitory aspects as one of its results, we can understand why the individuality in representation was almost always absent; instead, more or less standardised representations were depicted.

We shall discuss, however, the way these conventions were carried out in picturing human figures, in architectural representations, in pictured objects, in building up the scenes on a wall and in rendering landscape.

In treating the human figure the artist combined both frontal and side views to show its most characteristic aspects. The head is always in profile, while

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(1) In fact the visual rendering of nature was alien to the Ancient World as a whole until it was used by the Greeks in the fifth century B.C.; see H. Frankfort, "On Egyptian Art", in JEA 18 (1932), pp. 35 ff.

the eye is in full front[1]. The shoulders are shown in frontal view and stress is laid on the collar bones. As one nipple of the chest is always shown, the upper part of the chest is presumably shown in profile. Twisting the torso slightly, the artist was able to get an almost three-quarter view of the belly in which the navel was usually marked. This made an easy transition to the legs which, together with the feet, are shown in profile. As it was very difficult for the artist to draw the four toes, he drew the feet as if seen from outside with the big toe in each one. Thus, a figure facing right has two left feet and a figure facing left has two right feet.

A similar difficulty confronted the artist when dealing with the hands. It is highly probable that the pose described above was originally invented for a figure facing right, holding a staff in his left hand and a sceptre or a handkerchief in his right. Eventually figures facing left had to be represented. Here the artist met with difficulties which were rarely satisfactorily solved. Naturally he could not reverse the figure for this would have meant either to put the staff in the right hand and the sceptre in the left, which is contrary to reality, or to leave them where they are, which is rather confusing and impossible from his point of view.

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(1) There are rare cases in which the face was represented full front like the hieroglyphic sign hr and some of the vanquished enemies in the battle scenes; as well as the Musicians painting in the British Museum. These are, however, isolated cases and found only in subordinate figures, see below, p. 189

The only solution which satisfied him was to put the staff in a left hand attached to the right arm and the sceptre in another left hand attached to the left arm[1].

These rules were strictly observed in the rendering of the principal figures of the tomb owner in the tomb and in the rendering of the deities in the temples. The exceptions were rare and found in the tombs. Considering the subsidiary figures, the case is different. These were usually represented engaged in all sorts of activities. This required less rigidity and some relaxation in applying the rules of representation. Meanwhile, as these figures did not represent important persons, the artist found some freedom in expressing himself and showing his skill, and perhaps his individuality.

Likewise, there was a sharp discrimination in rendering the principal and subsidiary figures within the same scene. The former were always represented as large and dominant, in contrast to the latter which were depicted as small and subordinate, signifying their different rank and social position[2].

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(1) Smith, op.cit., pp. 273 ff; also J. Capart, Egyptian Art, translated by W. Dawson, London, 1923, pp. 149 f.

(2) Examples are given in Luise Klebs, Die Relief des Alten Reiches, figs. 7, 8, 12, 22, and in Wreszinski, Atlas, I, pls. 106, 191, 294, which demonstrate a distinction even between a man and his own family.

In both categories, however, the artist used a canon of proportions to which we made reference above. It is not in the least surprising that this canon did not change throughout Egyptian history except in the XXVIth Dynasty, and this was due not to any change in the rules of representation but to a change in the metrological system which substituted the royal cubit for the small cubit[1].

Examples of the methods used in the drawing of architectural representations are abundant. To judge from them it is clear that the artist knew the modem principles of drawing in plan, elevation and section. But apart from a number of hieroglyphic signs and a number of pictures of pylons from the Amarna Period and later, he did not use them in their simple aspect[2]. Instead, he combined two or three of them in an "ensemble compose"[3]. In fact, the combination of these

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(1) Erik Iversen, Canon and Proportions in Egyptian Art, London, 1955, p.70.

(2) For signs shown in elevation see A. H. Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar, 3rd. ed., London, 1957, 0.6, 0.11, 0.20, 0.21, 0.22 and 0.27; for signs in plan see ibid, 0.1, 0.4, 0.38, and 0.49; for pylons in elevation see A. Badawy, Le dessin architectural chez les anciens Égyptiens, Le Caire, 1948, p. 181 ff., figs. 218-223.

(3) Ibid,, p.264 ff.

principles was the dominant feature in rendering architectural constructions. This of course is not surprising as it is in complete harmony with the Egyptian conceptual approach to two-dimensional art.

An example may make the position clearer. In the battle scene from the tomb of Inti at Deshasheh, the rendering of the fortified wall is no more than a diagrammatic plan. Nevertheless, the artist did not hesitate to put a ladder against the wall as if it were depicted in elevation. Examples of this combination can be found over and over again at all periods[1].

Moreover, it will be noticed that in the Deshasheh example the artist has shown what was happening inside the fort. This is actually another feature of the Egyptian informative attitude, to show what is inside an object whether this object is a structure or a chest. We are able, for instance, to trace and define the different rooms in the palace of Akhenaten at El-Amarna through what we see inside it. In the dining room it is possible to see the dining table loaded with all sorts of food, in the bedroom one can see the bed, and in the store rooms the jars of wine are ranged one above the other. In the same manner, the servants doing their jobs are seen very clearly[2]. The contents of a chest,

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(1) For a brief and useful study, see Capart, op.cit., pp. 145-148, and for a full study see Badawy, loc.cit., particularly the second part of the book, p. 263 ff.

(2) N. de G. Davies, El-Amarna, I, pl. XVIII.

especially if they were precious, were carefully displayed over, beside or inside it[1]. One could not see these things inside the building or the chest but they were known to be there, and so from the Egyptian point of view they must be depicted.

In building up the representations on a wall surface, the register was the main unit employed. How did this system work? To start with, the wall was divided into several registers. Each register contained one scene or more[2]. The scene, on the other hand, was built up by combining small groups of figures, each group engaged in an action[3]. Generally speaking, scenes of related nature, like those of agriculture or funerary rites, were grouped on one wall.

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(1) Examples in P. Duell, The Mastaba of Mereruka, part I, Chicago, 1938, pls. 69, 74-76; N. deG. Davies, The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes, II, pl. XXII.A; Davies, The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re at Thebes, II, New York, 1943, pls. XXIX-XXXVI: and in N. deG. Davies, The Tomb of Puyemre at Thebes, I, II, New York, 1922-1923, pls. XXIII, XXXVIII.

(2) At the same time if a scene was not completed on one register it could be continued on the next. It was possible, also, to subdivide a register to include the different elements of a scene.

(3) Smith, op.cit, p. 333.

Within the register, the unity of each group was maintained either by the actual contact of the figures or by overlapping them[1]. Meanwhile, the unity of a whole series of registers was maintained by the representation of a heraldic figure of the tomb owner. He was shown either standing or seated, almost always inactive and was said to be "watching" whatever was going on.

It is possible that the idea of dividing the wall surface into registers was derived from the methods used in prehistoric constructions. These were made of reeds or palm fronds matted together and strengthened with reeds tied in bundles and fastenedvertically at the corners. In addition, similar bundles were fastened horizontally between the verticals, thus as it were forming registers[2]. The register system, however, satisfied the needs and conventions of the artist. Therefore it was used throughout the different periods of Egyptian civilisation, and seldom violated[3].

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(1) Ibid, p.334.

(2) Compare the remains of actual reed construction found at Merimde in H. Junker, Merimde, Jahrgang, 1932, Tafel III. Cf. also B. Smith, Egyptian Architecture as Cultural Expression, London, 1938, pl. I: 10 and pl. III: 10.

(3) The scenes on the Naqada pottery, the Hierakonpolis wall, the Lion Palette, and all the other examples of the Prehistoric Period, did not use the register system as it was not then invented. Yet it is possible to see a strong inclination towards the arranging of the scenes horizontally. In the New Kingdom battle scenes the bodies of the enemy, for obvious reasons, were shown scattered around. Nevertheless, in both cases the figures were combined together by a unifying idea controlling the scene S. Smith, op.cit., p. 333.

Although the primary purpose of landscape is to localise a scene, it did not escape from the conventional and typical methods which controlled the other aspects of the representational art. Hence the setting was always indicated in a sparse and schematic manner. To show a landscape of a swamp the artist was content to draw a series of vertical lines with papyrus flowers at the top and some birds hovering around[1]. A stretch of water was sufficient for scenes of fishing and boating[2]. An undulating linear ground with some scattered plants indicated the hilly desert in which a hunt must have taken place[3].

Nevertheless, in some scenes, particularly in the historical ones, a landscape was introduced showing, though but sparingly, the main characteristics of a location. Thus we have the landscape of the country of Punt in the Deir el Bahari Temple[4]. Likewise in the scenes of the battle of Qadesh, in the time of Rameses II, on the pylon of Luxor temple where the artist recalled the characteristics of the site of Qadesh on the Orontes[5].

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(1) Examples in Klebs, op.cit., Abb. 22, P. Newberry, Beni Hasan, part II, London, 1894, pl. IV, and Wreszinski, Atlas, pl. 294.

(2) H. Wild, Le Tombeau de Ti, Fascicule II, Le Caire, 1939, pls. CXI, CXXIII.

(3) Klebs, op.cit., Abb. 56 and Newberry, op.cit., pl. XII.

(4) E. Naville, The Temple of Deir El Bahari, III, London, pls. LXIX-LXXI.

(5) Wreszinski, Atlas, II, pls. 83-84.

3. The Question of Narrative

Just as the Egyptian artist avoided the transitory and incidental aspects of his figures, so he avoided the transitory aspects of an action. He was more inclined to portray the actions in a general and conventional manner dropping those aspects which might endow them with individuality. In other words, the immediacy and specific nature of events were sacrificed in favour of symbolic and rather static treatment[1]. Therefore, most scenes are more or less typical representations indicating typical actions.

In the fragmentary remains of the temple representations of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, one finds that most of the scenes depict typical activities performed by the kings or gods. Similarly, the typical ritual scenes are dominant in the temples of the New Kingdom. In private tombs, the vast majority of the scenes are concerned with the rendering of typical aspects of daily life. Scenes of agriculture, life in the marshes, fowling, craftsmanship, offering-bringers etc., are depicted in tomb after tomb. It could be argued that the presence of the landscape in most of them together with the characters engaged in the action would make them specific, but one has to remember that the landscape and characters were typical in themselves.

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(1) S. Moscati, Historical Art in the Ancient Near East, Rome, 1963, p.80.

This, of course, had a direct and considerable effect on narrative in Egyptian pictorial art. But before going any further a clear definition of the term "narrative" is essential. According to the Oxford Dictionary, the word narrative means "tale or story"[1]. We must therefore look for representations which tell a story. Out of this arises the question, what are the elements of a real story? A story is a specific event[2] carried out by particular characters in a particular place at a particular time[3].

In a pictorial story it is possible to render the characters and place elements. But what about the time element? It is an abstract factor and it could not be rendered naturally like the others. This was achieved, however, in one of two ways. In many representations an inscription was added to signify the time of a depicted event. Although this device is extrinsic and even incompatible with art sometimes, it helps undoubtedly to individualise the event[4]. In other representations time was rendered implicitly and could

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(1) The Concise Oxford Dictionary, Oxford, 1956, p. 785.

(2) The event could be historical, mythological, legendary or fictional. See Helene Kantor, "Narration in Egyptian Art", AJA 61 (1957), p. 44.

(3) G. Hanfmann,"Narration in Greek Art", AJA 61 (1957), p. 71.

(4) Moscati, op.cit., p. 73.

be perceived actually through the other elements of the representation. Needless to say, both ways of rendering time were frequently achieved in one representation.

Narrative, at any rate in its full sense, must be built up from these elements. The absence, however, of one of the last two elements, i.e. particular characters or particular place, could be tolerated although the narrative will not be rendered in its full sense. That is to say, a representation of an event, unspecific in its characters or location, is still acceptable as narrative. The only thing that could not be tolerated is the absence of a specific event. Actually the specific event is the key-stone in every story without which it is no longer a story. This is due to the fact that the significance of the other elements is entirely dependent on the specific nature of the event. Therefore if this is absent, the other elements will certainly not form a significant story and the representation will not be a narrative but a typical action.

Bearing this in mind, one can understand why the representations of typical aspects of life in Egyptian tombs are not in the least narrative. They are, as Mrs. Frankfort maintains, "elaborate pictographical conceits rather than images of transient events. These conceits may need multiple statements, consisting of various phases of one typical occurrence. They should be 'read'; harvesting entails ploughing, sowing, and reaping ... The sequence of the scenes is purely conceptual not narrative, nor writing which occurs with scenes

dramatic in character"[1].

Does this mean that there was no narrative in Egyptian art? As regards the typical scenes of daily life in temples and tombs, and the typical ritual scenes in the temples of the New Kingdom the answer is certainly in the affirmative. But it must not be forgotten that, dominant though these scenes were, they did not exhaust the repertoire of the pictorial representations. For just as the Egyptian representation of a principal figure had many exceptions to the general rules and the subsidiary figures were comparatively free from these rules, one finds events of specific nature depicted in the Old and Middle Kingdoms. And for certain reasons explained later[2], the New Kingdom produced a considerable number of scenes which were genuinely narrative. It should be borne in mind, however, that these rigid conventions were not applied to the scenes from the Prehistoric period as they were not then known; and most of them were deliberately ignored in the Amarna period.

4. Methods of Narrative

In Egyptian pictorial art two methods of depiction were employed to

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(1) Mrs. G. Frankfort, Arrest and Movement, London, 1951, p. 33.

(2) Infra, pp. 142-143; 147, 187-188.

express narrative. For the first method it is possible to apply the term "culminating scene" used by Miss Ann Perkins[1]. Here the artist depicted the most important and the most significant moment to convey an entire story. This method is naturally more allusive than explicit. Narrative scenes from the Prehistoric period are narrated in this manner[2]. In the historic periods this method was still in use, although very infrequently. The second method employed showed selected successive episodes of the story. This was the most favoured method in the historic periods[3].

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(1) Ann Perkins, "Narration in Babylonian Art", AJA 61 (1957), p.55.

(2) The scenes on the Lion palette and the mace head of king Scorpion, for instance.

(3) This method is called also "multiple-scene narration", see Moscati, op.cit., pp. 75-76.

PART ONE

FROM THE PREDYNASTIC PERIOD
TO THE END OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

CHAPTER II

THE PREDYNASTIC AND EARLY DYNASTIC PERIODS

It so happened that the beginning of the Dynastic Period in Egypt coincided with the beginning of recorded history; hence the two terms "Predynastic" and "Prehistoric" are frequently used alternatively to designate the vast era that precedes the emergence of the First Dynasty[1].

It will be understood, naturally, that a detailed study of such an era with all its problems is not within the scope of our research. Nevertheless, a general outline of the different stages of the period seems necessary in order not to leave the reader at sea[2].

The Prehistoric Period is commonly divided into four principal ages: the Old Stone Age (Palaeolithic), the Middle Stone Age (Mesolithic), the New Stone Age (Neolithic) and the Chalcolithic Age[3]. These terms refer to stages of human development, not to dates; thus they are applied to any people in any

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(1) It is, however, customary to apply the term "Prehistoric" in a sense wider than that of "Predynastic"; the latter should be confined to the stage which begins sometime in the Neolithic Age and ends with the beginning of the First Dynasty.

(2) A recent outline of early prehistoric Egypt was made by W. Hayes, "Most Ancient Egypt", in JNES 23 (1964), pp.73-114, pp. 145-192 and pp. 217-274.

(3) These Ages are subdivided, in turn, into shorter periods marked by certain "industries" or "cultures". The Palaeolithic Age, for example, contains the Lower Palaeolithic, the Middle Palaeolithic, and the Upper Palaeolithic. Cf. ibid., pp.145 ff.

place at any time.

During the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic Ages, man made his tools and weapons from stone, bone, wood and sea shells. He wandered from one place to another in nomadic communities and depended, economically, on gathering food by hunting and fishing. In Egypt, the implements of Palaeolithic and Mesolithic man are picked up at places like Abbasiyeh and Moqattam Cliffs near Cairo, Thebes and Ezbit el-Sebil in Upper Egypt, and in the Oases of the Western Desert.

The advent of the Neolithic Age witnessed several developments of the utmost importance in human history. Of these we cite the taming of animals, the discovery of agriculture, and the invention of pottery. Man became a food producer instead of a food gatherer and settled in one place instead of wandering around and so we find the first urban socities.

All the Egyptian Neolithic sites, such as Merimde Beni Salama, Fayum "A" and El Omari are confined to the Delta[1]. No sites from Upper Egypt are

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(1) Dr. Elise Baumgartel in her work, The Culture of Prehistoric Egypt, I, London, 1955, expressed the opinion that these sites are no more than peripheral to the later Upper Egyptian cultures of Naqada I and Naqada II, but this opinion does not seem to find much support; see the review of the first edition of this book by Helene Kantor in AJA 53 (1949), pp. 76 ff.

known so far[1]. Throughout the length of these long ages, pictorial art as we know it is almost completely absent from the Nile Valley[2].

The discovery of the Badarian Culture in the villages of El-Badari, Hammamyeh, Der Tasa etc., in Upper Egypt, marks the beginning of the Chalcolithic Period in Egypt, which extended to the First Dynasty. At Badari there appear for the first time a few copper beads[3], a copper pin[4] and the beginnings of decorated pottery in which simple vegetal patterns made by burnishing are found in the interior of bowls[5].

It is almost impossible to assign definite dates to the different phases of

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(1) It has been proved that what G. Brunton called "Tasian Civilisation" should be integrated with the Badarian, i.e. Chalcolithic; Baumgartel, op.cit., pp. 20 f.

(2) Although some of the rock-drawings of the "Earliest Hunters" may belong to Neolithic or early Chalcolithic Ages, they are excluded as they form a class of their own. Cf. H. Winkler, Rock-drawings of Southern Upper Egypt, vol. I, London, 1938, and vol. II, London, 1939.

(3) Guy Brunton and G. Caton-Thompson, The Badarian Civilisation, London, 1929, p. 7.

(4) Ibid., p. 33, pl. XXVI, Tomb 5112.

(5) Ibid., p. 22, pls. XIV and XXV, 5.

the Chalcolithic Period. To overcome this problem, Professor Petrie devised a system of relative dating called "Sequence Dates"[1]. This system has proved to be very useful, though it is open to criticism. It was based on the development of the different styles of pottery, starting with the Wavy-handled Class, together with the other objects found accompanying it. Petrie started his system of Sequence Dates (S.D.) with S.D. 30, leaving the lower numbers for possible earlier cultures that might be discovered[2], and ended with S.D. 78, which he considered to mark the beginning of the First Dynasty. Subsequently he divided the whole stage into three phases: Amratian (S.D. 30-37), Gerzean (S.D. 38-60) and Semainian (S.D. 61-78) with reference to the sites of Amrah, Gerzeh and Semainiah respectively.

Professor Scharff found it unnecessary to "suppose a third and new civilisation beginning with S.D. 63"[3]. And so he speaks of Naqada I (S.D. 30-38)

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(1) This system was first expounded by Petrie, Diospolis Parva, London, 1901, pp. 4 ff.; cf. also his Prehistoric Egypt, London, 1920, and his The Making of Egypt, London, 1939, p.9.

(2) After the discovery of the Badarian culture, between 1922-1928, Petrie assigned it to S.D. 20-29. The material is too scanty for accurate sequencing and Petrie's suggestions have not won general acceptance.

(3) A.Scharff, "Some Prehistoric Vases in the British Museum", JEA 14 (1928), pp. 261-276.

and Naqada II (S.D. 38-80)[1]. Miss Kantor, however, challenged the existence of a Semainian (S.D. 60-78) culture as a whole, and showed that the First Dynasty arose immediately out of the late Gerzean (S.D. 50-60)[2].

Naqada is the classic predynastic site. It contained the cemeteries of two distinct, successive cultures, both subsequent to Badarian which was not represented at Naqada, and had incomparably more graves of both periods than any predynastic site yet excavated. The cemeteries of El-Amrah and Gerzeh are small and are not really typical of the periods they are supposed to represent. Hence it would be better to name these two cultures as Naqada I (Amratian) and Naqada II (Gerzean).

The distribution of Naqada I culture was limited to Upper Egypt - between the province of Assiut and Hierakonpolis, with a tiny outlier in a small cemetery at Khor Bahan a mile or two south of the First Cataract. No trace of this culture has been found in the Delta or even beyond Assiut. It was thought that it was brought to Egypt by invaders from Libya[3], but the common opinion

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(1) A. Scharff, Die Altertümer der Vor-und Frühzeit Ägyptens, Mitt. Äg. Sammlg, Band IV, Berlin, 1931, pp. 20 ff.

(2) Helene Kantor, "The Final Phase of the Predynastic Cultures, Gerzean or Semainian (?)", JNES 3 (1944), pp. 110-136.

(3) F. Petrie, Preh. Eg., p. 47, and see also his "The Peoples of Egypt", Anc. Eg., 1931, pp. 77-85.

now is that it was a development on the spot because many features of the Badarian tradition do continue[1]. However, it is possible that an influx of newcomers did occur[2].

Naqada II culture, on the other hand, covered a wider range. Cemeteries of this period have not only been found in the Upper Egyptian sites where Naqada I cemeteries existed but have also been found near the entrance of the Fayum at Gerzeh, Harageh and Abu Sir el-Meleq and also at Tarkhan, Giza and Maadi. Hitherto it has been supposed that there were no predynastic cemeteries between Badari and Harageh, except one at Zawyet el-Amwat, but recently the existence of robbed cemeteries of Naqada II has been reported at Deir Bisra, Deir el-Gebrawi, El-Sheikh Timai and Sawada[3]; these sites have not yet been excavated. Meanwhile this culture penetrated in Nubia as far as Seyaleh and Gemai[4].

It is generally admitted that the Naqada II culture marks the entry of a

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(1) E. Massoulard, Préhistoire et protohistoire d'Égypte, Paris, 1949, pp. 171 ff.

(2) Scharff, JEA 14, pp. 265 ff., and Baumgartel, Cultures, I, pp. 24 ff.

(3) W. Kaiser, "Bericht über eine archäologisch-geologisch Felduntersuchung in Ober-und Mittelägypten", MDIK 17 (1961), pp. 1-53.

(4) Massoulard, op.cit., pp. 352 ff.; Baumgartel, Predynastic Egypt, CAH^2, vol. I, chapter IX, a, p.24; also M. Asfour, The Relations between Egypt and Nubia in Pharaonic Times, (Liverpool Ph.D. Thesis, 1956), p.38.

a new civilisation in the Nile Valley. But the nature of its coming is disputed. The prevailing opinion, however, is that it was brought by immigrants who came not as invaders but by peaceful and long-continued infiltration. The peoples of Naqada I and Naqada II lived peacefully side by side for some length of time. This explains the overlap in some aspects of the two cultures[1].

Still, whence did they come? For Scharff "the origin of the Second Civilisation is to be sought in North Egypt, and more especially in the north-eastern part of the Delta and the area lying between the Delta and Palestine"[2]. In fact, Scharff maintains that the appearance of the Gerzean culture in the South marks the Predynastic unification of the whole of Egypt under the Heliopolitan Kingdom in accordance with the theory which was postulated by Sethe. But both Scharff's and Sethe's theories are rejected by Dr. Baumgartel who notes that the people of Naqada II were connected with the Red Sea and must have entered Egypt through Wadi Hammamat. Then she adds, "Nothing in their culture points to their having come from the Delta, nor do the recent excavations made in the Delta offer any evidence for their existence there"[3],

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(1) Scharff, JEA 14, pp. 263 ff.; cf. also J. Vandier, Manuel d'Archéologie, I, Paris, 1952, pp. 330-332.

(2) op.cit., p. 272.

(3) Baumgartel, Cultures, I, p.50.

It is not our duty to find a solution to this problem and it is best left to the experts. Nevertheless one thing is certain, that is the existence of some clear relationship between this culture and other cultures in Mesopotamia and Iran. This relationship does not necessarily imply conquest, although a stimulating influence from Mesopotamia is not denied, and this may have helped to quicken the development of the historic period in Egypt[1].

A. NAQADA I (AMRAH)

The White Cross-lined pottery, which belonged exclusively to Naqada I, is the most characteristic feature of this culture. The kajority of its pots are open bowls and so the decorations were put inside them. The designs were applied to the red polished ware in a yellowish-white colour. Generally, the decorative motifs were geometrical forms, triangles, lozenges, parallel lines, wavy lines, zigzags, etc. These motifs are presumably derived from the earlier basketwork. Natural forms, such as palm branches, boats, hippopotami, fish, dogs, crocodiles, horned deer (antelopes) and even human figures, also occur[2]. Every now and then a combination of two or more of these motifs made

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(1) Some aspects of this relationship were studied in H. Frankfort, The Birth of Civilization in the Near East, second ed., London, 1951, pp. 109 ff.

(2) For pottery with geometrical forms see Petrie, Prehistoric Egypt Corpus, London, 1921, pls. XX-XXIII; see also pl. XXV for natural forms. Also, cf. Vandier, Manuel, I, figs. 174-187.

rudimentary "scenes". Most of these "scenes" depict an animal hunt which proves that hunting was still an important part of the economy of the Naqada I period.

A hunting scene drawn in the interior of an oval dish now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (pl. 2A), shows men in light reed boats spearing hippopotami and crocodiles[1]. Two other bowls from Mahasna show a hippopotamus hunt[2]. In the first one (pl. 3A) a man is seen piercing one of two hippopotami with a spear to which is attached a cord, one end of which is held by the hunter. In the centre of the bowl there are two animals difficult to identify. Two persons, on the left, are stretching out their arms as if performing a dance. The "scene" seems to be located in a marsh where we see plants and water. In the second bowl the hunter, with no apparent arms, has pierced a female hippopotamus accompanied by her young. Another hippopotamus has been speared although we cannot see the hunter. The "scene" took place in the vicinity of a stretch of water.

A large oval bowl, preserved at University College, London, shows what

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(1) William Hayes, The Scepter of Egypt, part I, New York, 1951, p.18, fig. 10.

(2) Both bowls are in Vandier, Manuel, I, figs. 189, 190.

looks to be a crocodile and hippopotamus hunt[1] (pl.4A). A huge crocodile occupies the middle of the bowl while three hippopotami are seen beneath. Two small figures of men are represented on the right. Below the crocodile, a pattern of cross lines has been suggested by Vandier to represent water; this is very doubtful.

The most celebrated bowl from this class is that in the Moscow Museum[2]. Here a hunter is depicted holding the lead of four dogs with one hand and a bow in the other. He is presumed to be going on a hunt in the desert marked by five triangles (hills) and some scattered plants (pl.2B). The painting on the exterior of a vase in University College (pl.3B) is thought to represent a duel between two men. One, short in stature and with long hair, is poking the other, who is taller and has short hair[3]. Finally, a bowl from Badari[4] shows two men standing at the two ends of an object which was suggested to be either a weaving loom or a fence installed to hold in animals[5].

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(1) Petrie, Preh.Eg., pl. XVI; Vandier, Manuel, I, fig. 191, pp. 283 f.; and cf. also J. Capart, Primitive Art in Egypt, translated from the French by A. S. Griffith, London, 1905, p. 111, fig. 82.

(2) It once belonged to the Golenischeff collection, Scharff, JEA 14, p. 267.

(3) Petrie, Preh. Eg., p. 16, pl. XVIII, and Scharff, op.cit, fig. 4.

(4) Brunton, Bad.Civ., p. 54, pl. XXXVIII, 6.

(5) Vandier, op.cit., p. 286.

On studying these "scenes" one notices the variety in representation although the subject is almost always the same. One notices also that, in spite of the summary treatment the artist gave to his figures, they are full of life and vitality. That is due to the fact that the artist was absolutely free from any tradition. In fact we see here the beginning of the long search of the Egyptian artist to find his own values and his own method.

Each one of these scenes has a meaning. The characters are performing certain actions in places like marshes or desert. One may find even a dramatic scene like that of the female hippopotamus and her young. Yet it is too early to speak of narrative in these scenes. This is to be expected owing to the very nature of the period. All we can say is that certain seeds of narrative may be detected. They are waiting for capable and right treatment in order to develop.

B. NAQADA II (GERZEH)

Fortunately the pictorial representations from the Naqada II culture are not confined only to pottery. We find in addition representations on a painted wall from Hierakonpolis (Kom el-Ahmar), ivory combs, ivory knife handles and slate palettes. Naturally we are not going to discuss the representations from all these categories, but we shall select what seems relevant to our subject.

1. Painted Pottery

At the beginning of Naqada II the White Cross-lined pottery almost disappeared and a new class of pottery, the Decorated Ware of Petrie, took its place. Certain differences between the two classes are well known. The pots of Naqada II are usually shouldered or bellied with narrow mouths. The paint was applied, in reddish-violet colour, directly to the external surfaces of the pots.

Together with some motifs from Naqada I, such as triangles and vertical lines, new motifs were introduced. Of these one may mention spiral forms, aloe trees and groups of flamingoes (once thought to be ostriches). On the other hand the boats, which were rarely depicted in Naqada I, are the dominant feature of Naqada II. Apparently they were made of papyrus, normally with both ends upcurved. They have numerous oars, up to 60, divided into two groups with a space between[1]. In the prow, there are always one or more

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(1) It was suggested that these drawings do not represent boats but a village surrounded by a palisade. But this suggestion is strongly rejected, see W. F. Edgerton, "Ancient Egyptian Ships and Shipping", AJSL 39 (1922-23), pp. 109-135; Capart, Prim.Art, pp. 207-210; Vandier, Manuel, I, pp. 336 ff.; cf. also R. D. Barnett, "Early Shipping in the Near East", in Antiquity 32 (1958), pp. 220-230, and finally see A. J. Arkell, "Early Shipping in Egypt", Antiquity 33 (1959), pp. 52-53. cf. pl. 4B.

palm branches. There are also two cabins amidships, one of which has a mast and an emblem[1]. These emblems are explained either as nome signs or as emblems of gods[2].

The representation of human figures is not uncommon. Women are normally depicted raising their hands over their heads as if dancing, while men are shown walking and sometimes holding sticks.

As regards the technique and style of Naqada II representations, it is noticeable that the artist applied solid blocks of colour to render his figures. These figures, whether human, animals or boats, are generally depicted in side-view. Moreover, the ordinary conventions of drawing the human body, which prevailed in the historic period, are easily recognised here. Although not so many details of the figures were included, the art here is pictorial in contrast to the graphic representations of Naqada I.

However, it seems that the whole intention of the artist was decorative rather than anything else. Hence his main interest in those figures was to show them as decorative motifs and not, as in Naqada I, as part of a

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(1) Studied in detail by P. Newberry, "Some Cults of Prehistoric Egypt" and "List of Vases with Cult Signs" in LAAA 5 (1913), pp. 132-142.

(2) Ibid., and see Baumgartel, Cultures, I, p.13.

comprehensive composition. The figures rendered on one given surface do not compose a "scene" with a meaning or imply any pictorial statement[1]. It is peculiar that the first moves toward rendering meaningful "scenes", which we met in the White Cross-lined painting, were not further developed or even continued in the Decorated Ware. As the absence of such scenes coincided with the genesis of the Egyptian conventions in drawing, one might think that that could be the reason. But this idea will have to be dismissed when we find other "scenes" under the same conventions. Is it due to the advent of the new people of Naqada II who might prefer the decorative mode to representation for its own sake? This must also be dismissed when we find representation for its own sake on the sculptured knife handles and slate palettes. Thus one may suggest, with all reserve, that these people were content to employ painting on pottery merely for decoration, reserving their endeavours at narrative for more durable objects of stone and ivory.

2. The Hierakonpolis Wall-painting

During his digging in the locality of Kom el-Ahmar (Hierakonpolis) in

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(1) It has been suggested that the boats may have funerary or symbolic significance, but this is a mere suggestion which could not be proved; see Mrs. Frankfort, op.cit, p.16.

1899, Mr. Green discovered a subterranean construction[1]. According to his description, it is a rectangular building (15 x 6½ x 5 ft.), divided by a short cross-wall. It is built of sun-dried bricks, plastered with a layer of mud-mortar. The walls were finally covered with a film of yellow ochre or whitewash. The nature of this building is disputed, for while the excavator and others[2] think that it is a tomb, Brunton supported by Kantor takes it as a subterranean dwelling or shrine[3]. However, the construction contained some pottery which made Professor Petrie date it to S.D.63[4]. Case and Payne push the date slightly down into the proto-dynastic period, the period

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(1) J. E. Quibell & F. W. Green, Hierakonpolis, II, London, 1902, pp. 20-22, pls. LXXV-LXXIX; the paintings of the tomb are published also by British School of Egyptian Archaeology, The Prehistoric Wall-painting in Egypt, London, 1950 (?).

(2) Kaiser in MDIK 17, p.12, has confirmed the location of the building in a cemetery; cf. also H. Case and Joan C. Payne, "Tomb 100: The Decorated Tomb at Hierakonpolis", JEA 48 (1962), pp. 5-18, who concluded "that the person once buried in the decorated tomb deserves consideration as one of the legendary kings of Upper Egypt".

(3) G. Brunton, "The Predynastic Town-site at Hierakonpolis", Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith, Oxford, 1932, pp. 272-276, and Kantor, JNES 3, pp. 111 ff.

(4) A note by Petrie in Quibell, op.cit., p.54.

which just preceded the First Dynasty[1]. It seems that Petrie's dating still holds good and is certainly more accurate than that suggested by Reisner, who wanted to assign the building to Dynasties O-1[2].

Some of these walls were decorated and the south-west wall had retained its decoration in a fairly good condition. The decoration consists of representations which are closely related to those of the Decorated Ware in style and technique, and in the motifs of the female dancers and boats. This relationship has been noticed ever since the construction was discovered and was emphasised by Miss Kantor who claims, "In fact the Hierakonpolis painting can be regarded simply as a large-scale example of the work of a Decorated Ware"[3].

The greater part of the wall is occupied by six large boats (pl. 5). Five of them are painted white and covered with bright green wash. Their shape is the same as the typical Decorated boats except for the absence of the parallel lines, representing the oars, from the Hierakonpolis boats.

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(1) Case, op.cit., pp. 11 ff.

(2) George Reisner, The Development of the Egyptian Tomb down to the Accession of Cheops, Harvard and Oxford, 1936, p. 362.

(3) JNES 3, p. 135.

The uppermost boat is the largest one and it has two cabins amidships, a small erection shaded with a palm branch at the bow, and in the stern a seated man working a steering-oar. The other four boats are more or less the same. The sixth and last is different; it is painted black and has a high stern but a low prow. It is certain that in style it is of foreign, Mesopotamian, origin. However, all of the six boats have parallels in the Decorated vases.

Groups of figures hunting wild animals or fighting are depicted scattered around and between the boats. Also over the large boat two women are seen performing a dance. On the upper left part of the wall, a man is attacking two lions and another is drawing a bow. A number of antelopes and goat-like animals are depicted here and there. Four of these animals are depicted over the large boat on what looks to be the earliest known example of a base-line. Two fighting men, one of whom is holding a was-sceptre, are seen between the two uppermost boats.

Perhaps the most important scenes on the wall are those at the base under the boats. On the left end a man is slaying three kneeling enemies, who are placed on a base-line. This scene is a prototype of the famous ideogram of the Pharaoh crushing his enemies. Two men, each one holding a was-sceptre, are proceeding to the left. Near the foreign motif of the man between two beasts (lions?), five deer caught in a trap are reproduced by a

convention characteristic of later Egyptian art[1]. An ibex is seen turning his head back as if afraid of an unseen hunter. Further to the right we find two pairs of combatants; one of them being beaten is shown upside down, followed by three seated women. At the right end is a standing man raising a club to hit enemies (now entirely lost), whom he holds with his right hand.

It is noticeable that the representations are scattered on the wall without definite order- this is another proof of the strong link with the style of the Decorated pottery. In spite of this, we find an important difference. Some figures here do not serve an entirely decorative purpose, but they are part of individual "scenes" in which definite actions are taking place. Hence we are able to speak of hunting, trapping, slaying and fighting scenes. The meaningless representations of the Decorated Ware are not dominant here. It is most unfortunate that the real significance of these actions is not yet fully known, and we cannot be certain that this is "a monument celebrating a like event" as has been suggested[2]. However, although these scenes could not yet be called "narrative", they seem more mature than those of the White Cross-lined pottery of Naqada I. Besides, the new motif of the man slaying

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(1) The deer are distributed radially round the trap just like plants round a pond in the New Kingdom tomb of Rekhmire, cf. Vandier, Manuel, IV, fig. 4.

(2) British School of Egyptian Archaeology, op.cit.

his enemies is very significant; equally significant is the appearance of the base-line device. The motif of a man between two beasts, which has its parallels in Mesopotamian art, is to be found on the knife handle of Gebel el-Arak.

It might be of some interest to notice that the earliest examples of base-line in Egyptian art, which are represented on this wall, are depicted side by side with two characteristic motifs of Mesopotamian origin; i.e. the boat with high stern and the man between two beasts. In the meantime the beginning of the base-line can be traced in pottery and stone vases from the Uruk V/IV and Jemdet Nasr cultures in Mesopotamia[1]; both cultures show strong relations with Naqada II. Accordingly, one may venture to suggest that the appearance of the base-line on this wall is another mark of Mesopotamian influence.

3. The Knife-handles

With the ivory knife handles we come to representations rendered in low relief sculpture, not painting. The sculptured knife handles are not numerous, and we are concerned just with two.

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(1) For pottery examples cf. Wolfram Nagel, Jemdet Nasr-Kulturen und Frühdynastische Buntkeramiker, Berlin, 1964, pls. 19, 21, 23 and 30(a), and for stone vases see the stone vase from Uruk in A. Parrot, Sumer, London, 1960, figs. 87-90.

The first one was given to the Metropolitan Museum in 1926 by Howard Carter (pl. 6A)[1]. Unfortunately it is badly damaged and a great part of the relief is lost. Nevertheless, we find on the left a light structure which Hayes suggests is a palace of a king or of a powerful prince. The rest of the handle seems to have been divided into three rows, the middle one of which is wholly lost. In the upper row a file of bearded men, whose lower parts are lost, proceed towards the palace. Each one of them holds a hka in his left hand and a was in his right. The bottom row shows the remains of kneeling captives (?) led by a standing figure whose upper part is lost completely.

Again the real significance of this representation is not known owing to the lack of any inscription and the extensive damage. But from the depiction of the palace, the formal procession of the men holding insignia and the kneeling captives, this must be an official celebration of a specific event, probably a victory. Thus here we meet the earliest representation in which we can find what looks to be a certain event which happened in a certain place involving certain characters. This could be the earliest pictorial narrative, in its true sense, in Egyptian art.

The second, and certainly more important, is the knife handle of Gebel

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(1) Cf. Kantor, JNES 3, pp. 124-128, and Hayes, op.cit., p.28, fig. 21.

el-Arak (pl. 7) which was assigned by Bénédite to S.D.60[1]. The foreign influence on the mode of rendering and on some motifs is clear and has been discussed by many authorities[2]. The reverse of the handle, which shows a hero between two lions and wild animal life, does not concern us as much as the obverse which shows bitter conflict on land and water. In the upper part two rows of nine, almost naked, men are represented engaged in a fight. They are of two different peoples : the so-called aggressors who are depicted with hair cut short and armed with the hrp , hd , and flint knives; the others have long hair and are not armed. Below, there are five boats in two rows separated by four dead bodies. The upper two boats are of the common Mesopotamian type which we saw on the Hierakonpolis wall painting. The lower three are the usual Nilotic boats on the Decorated Pottery and Hierakonpolis painting also[3].

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(1) This knife handle was bought in Cairo in 1914 for the Louvre Museum by G. Bénédite from a dealer who stated that it was from Gebel el-Arak opposite Nag Hamadi. Bénédite, Fondation Eugène Piot, Monuments et Mémoires 22 (1916), pp. 1-34, see also Bénédite, JEA 5 (1918), p. 232, pl. XXXII.

(2) Cf. Bénédite, Monuments, pp. 32 ff; F. Petrie, "Egypt and Mesopotamia", Anc.Eg., 1917, pp. 26-36 and also Kantor, JNES 3, pp. 120-124.

(3) The man beside the two upper boats belongs to the representations on the reverse of the handle.

The characteristic Egyptian conventions are seen very clearly in the treatment of the individual figures as well as in the way they are grouped in rows (though without base-line). Hence, in spite of the fine execution of the figures the representation as a whole lacks the undisciplined vividness seen elsewhere. But this does not affect the nature of the event depicted here. Undoubtedly this is a faithful pictorial record of a particular battle between either two tribes in Egypt or between an invading tribe and a native one. It seems that this battle took place on the Nile itself and on its banks. Thus, although some elements of narrative are not so specific as those on the Metropolitan Museum handle, yet these scenes evidently commemorate a particular event.

4. The Hunters Palette

This palette has been fitted together from two pieces in the British Museum and one in the Louvre. Like many other palettes from this period, its original provenance is not known[1]. The palette (pl. 6B) is an elongated triangle with a circular cavity near the centre, for grinding the eye paint.

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(1) Either Saqqara or Abydos has been suggested as the place from which this palette must have come, see Baumgartel, The Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt, II, Oxford, 1960, p. 97. In the meantime the opinion expressed by Dr. Baumgartel that this palette is an archaistic reproduction and not an actual predynastic one needs more consideration.

The relief occupies only one face, and shows what looks like an important event, a lion hunt, which took place somewhere in the Delta. Men armed with piriform maces, arrows, spears, throwing sticks and double-headed axes, proceed in two files along the two long sides of the palette. Each one of them wears a short girdle with an ox tail fixed at the rear. Some of them have one or two ostrich feathers fixed on their heads. Among the upper file two men are seen carrying two standards topped with the emblems of the Eastern and Western Delta. In between, the incidents of the hunt are depicted. On the left a lion, pierced with five arrows, is stalking away. Behind it are a gazelle, two deer and an ostrich, all running in panic. To the right of the cavity, a hunter is throwing a lasso around the horns of a deer. Further to the right another lion, followed by a cub, is depicted vigorously resisting its attacker, in spite of the two arrows piercing its head; and even making a fierce attack on the hunter who flees. Another hunter comes to his rescue aiming an arrow at the attacking lion. Finally at the far end there are two ideographic signs; one represents a shrine and the other represents the front parts of two bulls joined together. The explanation of these two signs is disputed. Do they represent a god to whom this palette was dedicated and the building which was his shrine? Or are they a hieroglyphic group indicating the place in which the hunt took place?[1]

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(1) Baumgartel, Cultures, II, pp. 97-98.

The mode of rendition here does not show the maturity in execution achieved in the Gebel el Arak knife handle, nor does it arrange the figures in rows; instead the figures are scattered. This is not surprising and is due to the fact that this was an age of formation. Nevertheless one cannot deny that the scenes here depict a certain event. The depiction of the various incidents of the hunt framed by the two files of men carrying their weapons and standards enhances the actuality of the representation. This, together with the possibility that the two ideographic signs allude to a particular place, gives the representation the nature of narrative.

C. THE EARLIEST HISTORIC PERIOD

This period includes the years just preceding the evolution of the First Dynasty proper and also the Archaic Period (the First and Second Dynasties). It was the period which witnessed the last phases of the struggle to achieve the unity of the Two Lands under the sceptre of one king on the one hand and the struggle to strengthen this unity on the other. However, it is important to notice that from now on we will be dealing, in the study of narrative, with recognisable characters, performing different activities. The objects on which we will find our reliefs are portable; slate palettes, mace heads and wooden and ivory labels.

The Lion Palette[1]

This palette also is fitted together from two pieces, one in the British Museum and the other in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. The reliefs occupy both its sides. On the lower section of the recto (pl. 8A), we see a battle-field with a huge lion, probably representing the king, as its central figure. It is depicted mauling a falling enemy who is bent in an extraordinary position, while the other figures are scattered around. On the top left are the remains of two recumbent men. Below them are two standards of Thoth and Horus leading two naked, bearded figures. Behind the lion a man is running away while turning his head back towards the lion. On the right there are two figures of men whose heads are lost. One of them is shown with his hands bound behind his back. From his neck hangs a partially destroyed sign which may be an ideogram of his name or the name of his district[2]. He is led by the other figure who wears a long robe decorated with oval motifs and has fringed borders. It was suggested that it is a figure of a goddess, but Vandier argues that he is a Libyan and that the robe is a characteristic

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(1) Called also the Vultures Palette, cf. Capart, Prim.Art, pp. 232-242, Vandier, Manuel, I, pp. 584-587, while F. Petrie calls it Two Gazelle Palette, see W.M.F. Petrie and Hilda Petrie, Ceremonial Slate Palettes, London, 1953, pls. D-E, 13-14.

(2) Vandier, loc.cit., p. 586.

Libyan costume[1]. In the foreground lie scattered the corpses of four naked men which are torn by birds of prey[2].

Although the characters which take part in the battle are scattered on the palette, the organic and conceptual unity of the representation is maintained. Organically the whole representation is focussed on the dominating figure of the lion which forms the centre of action. Conceptually the unity is maintained through the idea of the battle which controls the whole representation. In the meantime the novelty of the rendition and the specificity of the event are both clear. The dramatic aspect of the representation is enhanced by the action of the birds of prey. This latter detail certainly lays emphasis upon the total victory of the king and the utter defeat of the miserable foe.

All these qualities of true narrative are lost sight of in other palettes from the same time depicting events of a similar nature, such as the "Bull" and "Libyan Tribute" palettes[3]. In the first one, of which only a fragment

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(1) Ibid.

(2) The verso of the palette is occupied by the scene of two giraffes (Petrie calls them 'gazelles'?) standing on either side of a palm tree, and eating the leaves.

(3) Both in Vandier, Manuel, I, pp. 590-594, figs. 388-390 and Capart, Prim.Art., figs. 175, 176, and 181-182, cf. also Petrie, Palettes, pl. G. 17-20.

survives, we may see a real event but the artist did not render it as an actual event. Instead he produces a symbolic rendering of the idea of victory by drawing a bull, that is the king, trampling an enemy and about to transfix him with his horns. In the "Libyan Tribute", or "City" palette we do not even find a scene. On the one side, in two registers, we find seven rectangles representing walled cities each of which is being destroyed by an animal or a bird by means of a hoe. Schott[1] has interpreted this as a litany of victory, the only example of true picture writing that has been found in Egypt; it is not, therefore, to be considered an example of narrative art. The other side depicts three rows of rather submissive beasts and below them are some trees or shrubs. The three registers of animals show a strong Mesopotamian influence but the whole is again no example of narrative art.

The Mace-head of the Scorpion King

This was found by Quibell in the so-called Horus Temple in Hierakonpolis[2]. In spite of the damage which the reliefs have suffered, what remains is sufficient to show the sort of activity it was intended to commemorate, involving the king

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(1) S. Schott, Hieroglyphen, Untersuchungen zum Ursprung der Schrift, Wiesbaden, 1950, pp. 19-20.

(2) J. E. Quibell and F. W. Green, Hierakonpolis, I, London, 1902, p. 9, pls. XXV & XXVIc. The mace-head is in the Ashmolean Museum.

himself (pl. 8 B). It is probable that he is engaged in a ceremony connected with agricultural life, such as opening a canal[1]. He is wearing the White Crown and standing on the bank of a canal, not on a base-line, holding a hoe in both hands. Two signs, a rosette and a scorpion, are inscribed in front of him. They may be taken as his title rather than his name[2]. Assisting him is a man who stands before him with a basket in both hands. The latter is followed by another man who brings the first fruits of the harvest. Above these two men are the remains of a procession of standard-bearers. Behind the king are two fan-bearers and five papyrus plants. Beyond these there are two rows of figures : women clapping and dancing in the lower row, and two personages (princes?) carried in chairs in the upper row. At the top there is a register of standards each having a different nome-sign. From each standard hangs a rekhyt bird. Below the king the remains are very fragmentary, but we can see two men making the banks on opposite sides of a canal while a third hurries with a hoe to help one of them. A palm tree surrounded by a reed-fence is also depicted. The remains of two shrines are also recognisable.

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(1) Dr. Baumgartel takes it as a ceremony of founding a temple, Cultures, II, pp. 117 f.

(2) Ibid., p. 116 f.

The reliefs of this mace-head crown the previous attempts of the Egyptian artist to render a true narrative. Here we have all the elements required to make a pictorial narrative in the full sense of the word. The main character is the king himself who is acting as a real, historic person on an actual and specific occasion, not as a god-like being performing a symbolic act of an eternal nature. This transitory occasion is limited to a particular point in time and confined to a particular place. All these combined together emphasise the uniqueness of the representation in producing a first class pictorial story.

Unfortunately, this kind of highly realistic representation henceforth disappears from view and is replaced, as we shall see, by artistic conventions in which symbolic elements and non-specific events predominate. We have to wait, in fact, until well into the New Kingdom before seeing anything of this sort again.

The Narmer Palette

This palette was found also by Quibell in the Hierakonpolis Temple[1]. Its reliefs, which are completely preserved, occupy both sides (pl. 9[i-ii]).

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(1) Quibell, op.cit, pp. 10 f., pl. XXIX; see also Baumgartel, Cultures II, pp. 90-94, and Vandier, Manuel, I, pp. 586 ff. The palette is in the Cairo Museum.

Both recto and verso are decorated at the top with the serekh (the palace facade) in the centre, containing the name of Narmer and flanked on either side by a head of Hathor with cow's horns[1],

The greater part of the recto is dominated by the figure of the king who wears the White Crown of Upper Egypt, a short kilt with elaborate waistband or corselet (apparently of linen), and the traditional bull's (?) tail attached to the waistband. Before him kneels a bearded naked figure with long hair : the signs over his head  may either be the man's name Washi or an indication that he represents the harpoon nome[2]. The king grasps a lock of the hair of the kneeling man with his left hand and is about to smite him with a mace with a piriform head which he holds in his right hand. Above the kneeling figure is an oval which probably represents land from which sprout six papyrus stems. At the left of the oval is a human head through whose nose passes a piece of rope which is held in one of the claws of the falcon. Behind the king a small figure, drawn with its own base-line, represents the royal sandal-bearer carrying a pair of sandals in one hand and a pot in the other. He has above him a rosette surmounting a sign somewhat like  which may be either his name or title.

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(1) Consequently Mrs. Baumgartel suggests that the palette was dedicated to Hathor and not to Horus, Cultures, II, p. 91.

(2) Vandier, Manuel, I, p. 596

The interpretation of this scene has aroused much discussion. It is evident that it depicts the triumph of the Upper Egyptian king over a Delta chieftain or province. But the explanation of the falcon and oval land is less clear. It is at least clear that the group depicts graphically that Horus (= the king) has captured a certain district. Some authorities interpret the papyrus stalks as the equivalent of the symbol  1,000 and hence would interpret, "The Horus has captured 6,000 men". It is rather more attractive to imagine, however, that the papyrus stems are equivalent to the symbol  and that the group means "The Horus has captured the people of the papyrus-land (Ta-mehu)"[1].

In the small space below the base-line of the main scene are two naked, bearded, long-haired human figures. With their loose limbs they look as though floating in it and are similar to some of the figures on the base of the slate statue of Khasekhemwi ; they undoubtedly depict dead men. Above the figure on the left is a small rectangular enclosure with buttresses and above that on the right is the sign  which has been interpreted by Yadin as a

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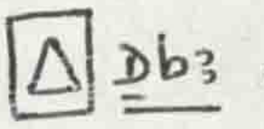
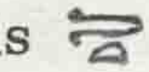
(1) For a discussion of these opinions see Vandier, Manuel, I, pp. 596 ff., cf. also Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar, p. 7.

particular type of fortified enclosure found in Southern Palestine[1]. Undoubtedly this little scene celebrates the defeat of some people who may have been in Palestine.

The verso is divided into three registers. In the upper one we see the king, wearing the Red Crown this time but in the same garments as on the recto, walking in a procession. Behind him is a rectangular sign  = Palace?[2]. His name is inscribed in front of him. He is followed by the same sandal-bearer and preceded by a person with long hair whose title is  and who is carrying writing implements on his shoulders. Furthermore, four attendants are seen carrying standards of two Horus symbols, a jackal and a royal placenta. On the right ten enemies are disposed in two rows with their heads put between their feet. Over them are the signs of a door, a wr bird, a boat with upturned ends and a falcon on a harpoon. The significance of these signs is not clear and we cannot be sure whether it represents

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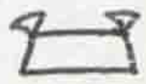
(1) Y. Yadin, "The Earliest Record of Egypt's Military Penetration into Asia?" in IEJ 5 (1955), pp. 1-16. In this article Yadin endeavoured to prove that Narmer campaigned in Southern Palestine and subjugated its people. But this theory has been rejected by W. A. Ward, "Egypt and the East Mediterranean from Predynastic Times to the End of the Middle Kingdom", JESHO 6 (1963), pp. 10-16.

(2) For this early word for palace, cf. Wb. V, 561.

a visit to the "Great Door" at Buto[1] or a human sacrifice in the temple of Hierakonpolis[2]. The middle register is occupied by two beasts with long entwined necks which are held on leashes by two men. The space enclosed between their two necks forms the circular cavity for the grinding of malachite.

The bottom register is occupied by the king, in the form of a "Strong Bull", treading on his enemy and demolishing the walls of a fortified town with his horns. The name of the town is written as  .

With the Palette of Narmer we encounter for the first time most of the elements of the true classical Egyptian style. Some of these conventions in embryonic form we have met in early Naqada II times, but on the Narmer Palette they are gathered together, they are already stylised and henceforward they will be standard features of the Egyptian artistic conventions and canon. Notable features of the palette are that the human figures are drawn in what is to become the characteristic Egyptian manner with its shifts of viewpoint in a single figure, the use of the base-line not only for the main figure and scenes but also for the small figure of the sandal-bearer; but note that lesser elements, such as dead foreigners, do not need the base-line. It is striking

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(1) Vandier, Manuel, I, p.598.

(2) Baumgartel, Cultures, II, p.93.

that at the very beginning of Egyptian art of the historical period we should encounter all the characteristic artistic conventions and principles almost fully developed. The close relationship between writing and picture is particularly marked in these scenes. This came as a result of the unification of the Two Lands under a divine kingship. All the manifestations of life in Egypt, including art, had to have a unified form. On the other hand, art had to express this new conception of divine kingship and this is conspicuously reflected in the palette.

It is clear that these representations commemorate events which are probably connected with episodes in the unification of Egypt. It may be worthwhile to examine each one of them individually. The scene showing the king smiting an enemy commemorates a victory over a people, maybe in the Delta. The defeated people are represented by their chieftain (?) whose name (?) is Washi. Although the king and the chieftain are specific characters, the manner in which the event is rendered has robbed the representation of other narrative elements. The king is depicted statically, in a fixed pose, expressing victory by an inherently timeless act. His victory is not shown as an event limited to a particular place or confined to a particular point of time; on the contrary, this victory is transformed into an expression of the ever-victorious role of the king, utterly ignoring factors of time and place. At the bottom, the two dead men, made relatively specific by the hieroglyphs above them, remind us of the four dead men in the Lion Palette. But while in the

latter the dead men are embraced within the scene and enhance its impression of realism, the dead men in the Narmer Palette are separated from the scene by a thick base-line and so they add nothing to the representation but very probably constitute a separate scene.

As for the scene at the bottom of the verso in which a bull is shown destroying a town, this does not differ from the main scene of the recto. Although the city's name is written, the whole scene is a schematic representation. It is in fact an ideographic rendering of the idea of victory; hence it is writing rather than representation as such.

It seems that the two animals with entwined necks which occupy the centre of the verso, and which show a strong Mesopotamian influence[1], are a mere decorative pattern and have no symbolic or specific meaning. Perhaps the nearest approach to true narrative is the solemn procession in the upper register. Here the king is seen, not "standing", but "moving" from one particular point to another. He is accompanied, although not assisted, by a dignitary and standard-bearers. The idea of "moving" certainly provides a sense of place and time; thus a kind of transitory nature is maintained.

Unfortunately, the human dignity of a king performing an event for the

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(1) A. Parrot, Sumer, 1960, p. 80, fig. 98.

benefit, and with the help of his people, which we met in the Scorpion mace-head, is replaced here by a static, god-like king performing a fait accompli. Yet our knowledge that these representations do commemorate certain historic events incorporating recognisable characters will make us accept the representations of this palette as a whole as narrative; and there is little doubt that this was part of the artist's intention.

Narmer's Mace-head

Like the Scorpion mace-head and Narmer Palette, this was also found by Quibell in the Temple of Horus at Hierakonpolis[1]. The representations, which are preserved in very good condition, are divided by a vertical line into two scenes. In the first, and largest, we see the king seated in a kiosk at the top of a flight of steps. He holds a flail and wears a long Heb-sed robe and the Red Crown of Lower Egypt. Beside the platform stand two fan-bearers. A protecting vulture (or falcon[2]) is hovering over the kiosk. Behind the latter are two registers of attendants, including the  and sandal-bearer, whom we have met on the Narmer Palette, and also three men holding long sticks. In front of the kiosk there are three registers. In the middle register

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(1) Quibell, Hierakonpolis, I, p. 9, pl. XXVI b. The mace-head is in the Ashmolean Museum.

(2) Baumgartel, Cultures, II, p. 114.

we see a robed figure (of a woman or chieftain?) seated in a palanquin followed by three bearded men running between six half-moon-shaped signs. The bottom register depicts a bull and a goat accompanied by the numerals 400,000 and 1,422,220 respectively. A kneeling captive accompanied by the numeral 102,000 is seen behind in a panel of his own. In the second and smaller scene, we see what looks to be a primitive shrine in which stands a long-legged bird (ibis?) and a vase on a standard. Below there are three gazelles running in an enclosure.

A satisfactory explanation of the meaning of these scenes is not yet known. We do not even know whether the two scenes are related to each other or not. Three explanations have been put forward for the meaning of the first scene. For Quibell it seems to depict "a captive ruler brought before Narmer and followed by his subjects who are compelled to perform a sacred dance"[1]. For Petrie it represents the marriage of the king to the woman in the palanquin[2]. The third opinion, and the prevailing one, is that it illustrates the celebration of the Sed-festival since the king is wearing the garments that in later times are characteristic of the jubilee. In addition the half-moon-shaped signs resemble the D signs that are found in the

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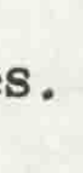
(1) Quibell, op.cit., p.9.

(2) Petrie, Making, pp. 78-79.

jubilee scenes of the Step Pyramid[1] and other representations of the festival.

However, the scene certainly depicts a historic event which must have happened during Narmer's reign. The elements of narrative are more specific here than those of the palette. The static figure of the king does not dominate the scene, nor is he the only actor. He is present but he does not really perform any act. This reduces the static quality of the representation as a whole. On the other hand the mere presence of other recognisable characters such as the  and the sandal-bearer provide the occasion with an air of actuality.

Wooden and Ivory Labels

Among the objects found in the royal tombs and the tombs of the high officials of the First Dynasty are small labels of wood and ivory. They were attached by a string to some article of tomb equipment. Frequently the label bears the name of a king together with some important events which occurred in a certain year of his reign. These events are either recorded in writing or in very rough scenes. Sometimes the sign  'year', 'regnal year', fills the whole height of one margin and the whole must be interpreted as a year name, 'year of doing so and so'.

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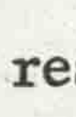
(1) Baumgartel, Cultures, II, p. 115, see also C. M. Firth and J. E. Quibell, The Step Pyramid, I, Le Caire, 1935, pls. 15, 16, 42.

One of the ivory labels from the tomb of Neith-hotep[1] is divided into three rows. In the uppermost one we see the Horus name of king Aha in front of which is what appears to be 'Nebty Meni' within a triple outline resembling  sh. Grdseloff interprets it as wrmt, a funerary booth of reeds[2]. Behind the Horus name is a Shemsu-hor boat. In the middle row three men are standing in a light structure while a man holding a stick moves to the left. Two men facing each other, one stirring something in a vessel, precede a pile of offerings. The bottom row shows four men and the name of an oil.

Another ebony label was found in the tomb of Hemaka, at Saqqara[3].

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(1) V. Vikentiev, "La tablette en Ivoire de Naqada", ASAE 33 (1933), pp. 208 ff., see also Smith, History, p. 119, fig. 38.

(2) B. Grdseloff, "Notes d'épigraphie archaique", ASAE 44 (1944), pp. 279-282. He claims that, as the two names (Horus, Nebty) of a single king were written facing each other, the fact that Nebty Meni faces away from Horus Aha precludes their belonging to the same king. But Vikentiev, ASAE 48 (1948), pp. 678 ff., pointed out that examples exist where titles known to belong to one king do not always observe Grdseloff's rule of facing each other.

(3) W. Emery, The Tomb of Hemaka, Cairo, 1938, pp. 38 ff., fig. 8.

It is also divided into three rows which show scenes of unknown meaning. It bears the name of king Djer. In the upper row we see a man stabbing a captive and gathering his blood in a vessel. Five men are depicted proceeding to the left while carrying a spear, a bird, a N^{c}r fish, a mummy and a standard. In the middle row two seated figures remind us of the figure in a palanquin on Narmer's mace-head. A man throwing four disks, another carrying a hoe and a third holding a standard topped with the signs of a bull and a feather are also seen. The bottom row records the name of the oil.

Two labels from the reign of Udimu were found at Abydos. The first one[1] shows the heraldic figure of the king preparing to smash the head of a kneeling captive whom he holds with his left hand. Behind the captive is a standard and an inscription reads "The first time of smiting the East". Presumably this action took place either in the Eastern Desert or in Sinai since the base-line under the figures is sloping up and covered with dots representing sand.

The second label[2] is divided into two vertical halves. In the left half

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(1) E. Amélineau, Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos, 1895-1896, Paris, 1899, pl. XXXIII, pp. 221 f.

(2) W. M. F. Petrie, The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty, I, London, 1900, pl. XV (16), pp. 40 ff., and see also P.E. Newberry, "The Wooden and Ivory Labels of the First Dynasty", PSBA 34 (1912), pp. 279-289.

is an inscription showing the Horus name of the king, the name of Hemaka, the name of an oil and the name of the place whence it comes. The right hand half is divided into three registers bracketed by the year sign. The two lower registers contain inscriptions while the top one shows two episodes of the Heb-sed celebration. On the left the king is seated in a kiosk on a flight of steps. He holds a flail and wears the long robe, a characteristic of this celebration, and the Double Crown. In the second episode, the king is seen performing a ritual dance (or run) between six D signs.

Generally speaking, these small labels undoubtedly record certain historic happenings. Unfortunately the full meaning of the events on the first two labels is not known. However, although the scenes are depicted in a rough manner, the grip of the Egyptian conventions has already become strong. Hence, although the events are specific, the rendition is standardised. The ever-victorious king in the first label of Udimu is depicted in the usual schematic way. In the second one purely ritual episodes are illustrated. They do not provide any ephemeral qualities in spite of the year sign represented. Therefore the representation is ideographic and thus a pictorial narrative is not fully achieved.

CHAPTER III

THE OLD KINGDOM

In dealing with subjects of narrative from the Old Kingdom onwards one has to look into two sources : the royal reliefs in temples, whether cultic or funerary, and scenes from the private tombs. As one might expect, the ablest and most skilful artists in the country must have been employed on the royal projects. Therefore, most of the new trends in the technique of representation and in the subjects illustrated must almost always have begun in the royal reliefs. In due course these subjects were allowed to be depicted in private tombs as long as they did not infringe on royal prerogatives and were appropriate to private tombs.

A. The Royal Reliefs

Unhappily all of the temples of the Old Kingdom were used for many generations as quarries; therefore most of them have either entirely disappeared or have been found in a very fragmentary condition. This is a regrettable fact since one would have expected to find in them pictorial representations, and consequently narrative scenes. Nonetheless, the scattered remains which have been found give us a relatively clear idea of the spirit of this period and the religious conceptions that prevailed and had a great influence on the different aspects of life in Egypt.

It is hardly possible to write about any aspect of Egyptian civilisation

without being struck by the dominant role played by the concept of the divine kingship. That the king is god was a concept which was asserted since at least the time of Narmer and is strongly reflected in his palette. It is possible that the relative novelty of this conception and the political disturbances that confronted the kings of the first two dynasties retarded its full impact. But with the beginning of the Third Dynasty the position of the king was finally settled, his control of the country was more assured and the conception of his divinity became more strongly established. From now on the king is looked upon as god whose nature, and consequently his acts, was eternal. He had absolute power politically and religiously. This absolute power reached its zenith in the Fourth Dynasty, particularly in the reign of Khufu and his immediate successors. This power can be seen very clearly in the Giza necropolis where the Great Pyramid, demonstrating the absolute supremacy of the king, is surrounded by the tombs of his nobles which are laid out on a regular city plan at a respectful distance from the pyramid of the king, which dominates them.

This very conception, reflected in pictorial art, is responsible for the lack of narrative scenes in the royal representations of the Old Kingdom. Everything involved with divine kingship is eternal, non-transitory, ignores the ephemeral aspects of an event and, in a word, is typical. By contrast a narrative scene has to be transitory, dealing with events limited in time and space - i.e., is specific.

The illustrations of the mining expeditions in Wadi Maghara in Sinai provide a clear example[1]. There we see the heraldic, static figure of the king smiting a submissive Beduin chieftain - a typical act repeated from one reign to another and lacking all ephemeral qualities.

The representations from the time of Zoser-netjiri-khet, although few, furnish us with another example. In his Pyramid Complex at Saqqara six panels sculptured with fine low relief were discovered, three in an underground gallery of the Step Pyramid and the others in the substructure of the tomb under the southern enclosure wall[2]. The king is depicted wearing the White Crown in five cases and the Red in one. He is either striding or performing a ritual run apparently connected with the sed-festival. Also in the so-called Zoser temple at Helipolis some fragments were found[3] which show the king seated on a throne wearing the long robe characteristic of the sed-celebration.

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(1) See W.M.F. Petrie, Researches in Sinai, London, 1906, and see also A.H. Gardiner and T.E. Peet, The Inscriptions of Sinai, second ed., edited and completed by J. Černý, vol. I, Oxford, 1952, and vol. II, Oxford, 1955.

(2) Firth and Quibell, The Step Pyramid, pls. 15-17 and 40-42.

(3) The fragments are in Turin Museum and one in Cairo Museum. Published by R. Weill in Sphinx 15 (1911/12),pp.9-18, cf. also Smith, History, pp. 133 ff. figs. 48-53.

Whether or not it is the case that the king has actually celebrated his sed-festival, these scenes could not be considered historical, in the sense that they portray one particular event, let alone narrative. The king here, as on the Udimu ivory label, is performing purely ritual acts with no consideration whatsoever for time, place or any specific quality.

The same considerations apply to the representations of the Valley Temple of Senefru at Dahshur[1], as well as the scanty fragments found from the Causeways of Khufu and Khafre. On the pillars in the chapels of king Senefru's temple there are scenes of different sed-festival ceremonies, scenes of the king in relation to gods and goddesses and a scene of the "going around of the Apis Bull". All these are ritual scenes. On the other hand, the rows of the representatives of the estates of the different nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt are depicted on the west and east walls of the Central Hall and on the covered parts of the west and east walls of the Open Court. They are included here merely to guarantee the sustenance of the dead king. From the Causeway of Khufu the remains of sed-festival scenes and a ritual visit to Heliopolis are preserved[2]. The remains of a bound

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(1) A. Fakhry, The Monuments of Senefru at Dahshur, vol. II, The Valley Temple, part I, Cairo, 1961.

(2) S. Hassan, The Great Pyramid of Khufu and its Mortuary Chapel, Cairo, 1960, pl. VI.

captive attended by an Egyptian was also found in the Causeway of Khafre at Giza[1].

The rise of the solar cult from the end of the Fourth Dynasty and the increase of its power in the Fifth constituted a challenge to the absolute power of the king. Meanwhile, the rise of some of the strong families and personalities in the nomes of Egypt also challenged the central authority of the king. Both combined together certainly reduced his supremacy in both the religious and the political spheres. Consequently, the resources of the entire land which were formerly devoted to building an eternal abode for the king were now split, since the available resources had to be shared between the building of the temples for the Sun-god, the erection of the royal pyramids, and the provision of tombs for nobles and senior officials. The overwhelming authority of the king, exemplified in his pyramid dominating the tombs of his followers, declined increasingly and from the end of the Fifth Dynasty onwards there was a growing tendency for the nomarchs to cut or build their tombs, surrounded by those of their followers, in their own provinces. The unquestioned power of the kingship was in decline; this led to its eventual downfall after the Sixth Dynasty. Yet, in spite of the decline of the central

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(1) U. Hölscher, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren, Leipzig, 1912, p. 110, figs. 162-163.

power of the king, the conception of his being god remained untouched. Theoretically the divinity of the king remained secure.

We must now see how this idea was reflected in pictorial art. Although we are better off for temple representations of this period compared with the preceding epoch, we must regret that these temples were so extensively damaged; our knowledge of the subjects recorded is fragmentary and what survives is only a minute proportion of what originally existed. Our information comes mainly from the remains of Sahure's Valley Temple, Causeway, and Mortuary Temple at Abusir[1]. It is extended and enriched by fragments from the Mortuary Temple of Userkaf at Saqqara[2], the Valley Temple and the Causeway of Neuserre's Pyramid Complex at Abusir[3], and the Causeway of Unas at Saqqara. The Sun-temple of Neuserre at Abu Gurab also adds

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(1) L. Berchardt, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahu-re, Band II, Leipzig, 1913.

(2) C. M. Firth, "Excavations of the Department of Antiquities at Saqqara", ASAE 29 (1929), pp. 64-70, pl. II. It is not yet known whether the Swiss excavations at his solar temple revealed any important fragments of reliefs.

(3) L. Borchardt, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-re, Leipzig, 1907.

to our information[1]. As for Dynasty VI, the main source of material is the Complex of Pepi II at Saqqara[2].

The scenes in these temples are either an expansion of the subjects found in the fragmentary remains of the previous period or offer new[3] subjects. Owing to the greater expanse of wall surfaces available, the sed-festival episodes in the Sun-temple of Neuserre were expanded and elaborately portrayed. The scenes of ritual services in temples were expanded too; likewise the scenes of the bearers of offerings, bull sacrifice, etc. Illustrations of subjects from daily life are new but some apparently occurred as

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(1) L. Borchardt, Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-wser-re (Rathures), I, Berlin, 1905; the reliefs are published in F. W. von Bissing and H. Kees, Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-wser-re (Rathures), II, Leipzig, 1923, and III, Leipzig, 1927. The reliefs are preserved at present in the Cairo and Berlin Museums.

(2) The Complex is published in three volumes by G. Jéquier, Le monument funéraire de Pépi II, I, Le Caire, 1936; II, Le Caire, 1938; and III, Le Caire, 1940.

(3) To be strictly accurate, the word "new" here must not be taken absolutely literally. We cannot really know what scene is "new" as long as we do not have the complete material from the previous period.

early as the Mortuary Temple of Userkaf at Saqqara[1]. Also depicted are scenes of life in the marshes including the hunting and trapping of birds, fishing and harpooning hippopotami, as well as the hunting of wild animals in the desert, and harvesting grain. In the Sun-temple there were scenes of the different occupations and activities of men, animals and plants throughout the different "Seasons" of the year[2]. They were intended to show the Sun-god as the giver of life. In addition, the conventional heraldic

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(1) Firth, ASEA 29, pl. II; see also W. S. Smith, The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt, London, 1958, p. 68 and figs. 31-32.

(2) L. Borchardt, "Verläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen bei Abusir im Winter 1899/1900" ZAS 38 (1900), pp. 94 ff., pl. V; see also von Bissing "La chambre des trois saisons du sanctuaire de rei Rathoures (Ve Dynastie) a Abousir", ASAE 53 (1956), pp. 319-338, pls. I-II, and VII-XXIII. For a philological study as well as figures and illustrations see E. Edel, Zu den Inschriften auf den Jahreszeitenreliefs der "Weltkammer" aus dem Sonnenheiligtum des Niuserre, I Teil, Göttingen, 1961, II Teil and II (Fortsetzung) 1963, cf. also Smith, History, fig. 69. Cf. pl. 10.
It was presumed that the walls of the room showed three personifications of the three seasons of the Egyptian year, namely Shemu, Akhet, and Peret, see ASAE 53, pp. 325-326. But since there is no indication at all of the last season (Peret), and since there is no sufficient place in the room for its representations, Dr. S. Wenig followed by W. S. Smith concluded that only the first two seasons were represented and that Shemu includes the planting as well as the harvest. See W. S. Smith, Interconnections of the Ancient Near East, New Haven and London, 1965, p. 141, fig. 178 a & b.

representations of the king either as a human figure or as a griffin trampling his enemies are known from the Valley Temple of Sahure[1], the Causeway of Neuserre[2], and the Causeway and Mortuary Temple of Pepi II[3].

All these subjects, which form the bulk of the decoration of the temples, were intended to demonstrate the royal power in the funerary temples on the one hand, and the glory of the Sun-god in the solar temples on the other. Hence they were typical representations of typical events which ideally should take place in any king's life. In the meantime some apparently historical scenes are known from some of these reliefs. These are rendered in a conventional manner so that they should not contradict the general theme of decoration. Therefore, they make us query sometimes whether they are original and depict actual happenings or are mere imitations of earlier scenes.

In the Mortuary Temple of Sahure were found remains of two scenes which may have depicted specific events; these are the "Libyan Campaign" and the "Syrian Expedition". It is probable that they have some historical

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(1) Borchardt, Sahure, pl. 8.

(2) Borchardt, Ne-user-re, p. 48, fig. 31.

(3) Jéquier, op.cit. II, pl. 36, and III, pls. 15-16.

significance in spite of the fact that the representation of the Libyan Campaign was copied later in the Mortuary Temple of Pepi II[1].

The Libyan Campaign was depicted on the south wall of the Hall of Columns[2]. Comparing it with the Pepi II copy, one may safely assume that the heraldic figure of the king smiting a kneeling chieftain with a mace was shown on the left[3]. The fragment that is preserved shows eight registers of captives and spoils recorded by the goddess Seshat (pl. 11). The top three registers portray Libyan captives, male and female, kneeling, facing left and paying homage to the king. They are accompanied by their children. Four registers of "thousands" of cattle, donkeys[4], goats and rams are exhibited. In the bottom register we see on the right "Ash, Lord of Tehenu" and the goddess of the West. On the left is the wife of the Libyan chieftain Khut-ites and her two children Wesa and Weni. This group of the chieftain's

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(1) Jéquier, op.cit., II, pls. 8-9.

(2) Borchardt, Sahu-re, pl. 1; it is preserved in Cairo Museum.

(3) Note in Borchardt's plate, the raised elbow and extended foot of the kneeling chieftain in precisely the same attitude as in the Pepi II reliefs. Note also that the captives paying homage are facing left, as are the two deities and the family of the chieftain in the bottom register.

(4) A fragment of the donkeys was preserved from the scene of Pepi II.

family was closely copied in the Pepi II version, even down to the names of the wife and her children[1].

Obviously the Pepi II version was a direct copy of the Sahure representation and so it does not record an actual campaign. However, we have no reason to consider that the representation in Sahure does not record a definite historical campaign. If that is so, it will be interesting to see how the artist fitted this event into the typical scenes of the temple. As the king was almost certainly shown smiting the chieftain just as does Pepi II, the form of the scene was the conventional one of the ever-victorious king performing an eternally significant act. Meanwhile, the representation of the captives, spoils and the two deities promising him victory, emphasises the foregone conclusion of the victory of the king. In fact it is not the events but the results of a successful campaign that are depicted. In short, the artist transmuted a specific event partly or wholly into timeless, conventional art forms, which thereby became symbols of the eternal attributes of the king.

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(1) Later the Nubian king Taharqa of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty repeated this scene in his temple at Kawa. Here although the king is shown like a griffin this time, the group of the family of the chieftain is also copied down to the names of the wife and children; see Infra pp. 433 and Smith, Interconnections, p. 52 & fig. 80.

The other historical event that was recorded is the "Syrian Expedition"[1]. It occupies both the north and south sides of the east wall of the west passage. The representation was partly reconstructed by Borchardt. Both sides of the wall were divided into four registers. The upper two showed men on shore, bowing while holding staves or raising their hands in a gesture of adoration. They are facing the centre and the fragments of legends describe them as "Giving praise to Sahure". It is assumed, therefore, that two heraldic figures of the king dominated both sides of the wall by the entrance. The lower two registers were occupied by sea-going boats. The remains of four on the north side represent the moment of the departure for Syria, while the remains of eight boats on the south side indicate the return. In the ships of the returning expedition are a number of Syrians accompanied by their wives and children. They are paying homage to the king but are not bound like captives[2].

It seems that the purpose of this expedition was peaceful rather than military since the foreigners are not shown as captives. In all probability

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(1) Borchardt, Sahu-re, pls. 11-12. cf. pl. 12 A.

(2) The scene of the returning boats carrying Syrians accompanied by their wives and children was found on a fragment from the causeway of Unas at Saqqara. That may indicate that the expedition was copied by Unas. See S. Hassan, "The Causeway of Winis at Saqqara", ZAS 80 (1955), p. 138, fig. 2.

it was a trading-expedition to the coastal cities of Syria. M. Montet has endeavoured to prove that it had been sent to bring back a Syrian wife for Sahure[1].

However that may be, we have here an artistic rendition of a specific event. Two moments were chosen to record that event, the departure and the return. Although dominating the representation, the king does not actively participate in the event. In fact he is a mere static presence, and so his eternal nature was untouched. In this way the conflict between the eternal and ephemeral was reconciled.

Of particular significance, however, is the fact that the departure scene was depicted on the north side of the wall while the return was depicted on the south side. The orientation here is clear since Syria is to the north of Egypt, and its significance is borne out by a later example in the "Punt Expedition" in the Deir el-Bahari Temple of Queen Hatshepsut. It may be argued that although the departure scene is on the north wall the figures are facing south. But this criticism is not valid since the figure of the king was at the centre, and it would not be fitting to show the figures

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(1) P. Montet, "Le roi Sahure et la Princesse lointaine", in Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud, I, Paris, 1939, pp. 191-195.

turning their backs to him.

Among the conventional scenes from the causeway of Unas, the last king of the Fifth Dynasty, some fragmentary remains of highly significant scenes are preserved on isolated blocks[1]. One has to be cautious in treating these scenes since they are incomplete and out of context, so to speak. Nevertheless, the reliefs on these blocks portray single and unique events in a realistic manner. It may not be sheer coincidence that they belong to the last king of the dynasty when the power of kingship has already passed its peak, and the king sought the protection and help of spells recorded in some of the chambers of his pyramid, namely the Pyramid Texts.

Several blocks from the southern wall show the transport of architectural elements by cargo-boats from the quarries of Aswan to Saqqara. On one of these blocks the scene is entitled, "Bringing from the workshops of Elephantine, granite columns for (the Pyramid Complex called:), The-Places-of-the-Son-of-Re-Unas-are-Beautiful"[2]. The boats are laden with columns with palmiform capitals, examples of which were found in the Valley and Mortuary

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(1) S. Hassan, "Excavations at Saqqara", ASAE 38 (1938), pp. 503-521; see also ZAS 80, pp. 136-139.

(2) S. Hassan, ZAS 80, p. 138, fig. 1, and ASAE 38, pp. 519 f.

temples. Undoubtedly these scenes on the blocks represent actual events that took place during the construction of the Unas Pyramid Complex. A representation showing an occasion of transporting architectural elements will be seen in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari[1].

On another block we see part of a combat between Egyptian soliders armed with bows and daggers and an Asiatic enemy[2]. The persons are seen acting vigorously and are depicted in a very lively manner. Later in this chapter we will find two parallels for this scene in two tombs, one at Desha-sheh and the other at Saqqara. The fragmentary battle-scene from the cause-way of Unas is the first scene of an actual fight that we have encountered since the scenes of the knife-handle of Gebel el-Ărak.

Finally, and most important, are two blocks showing a unique scene of a famine[3]. It seems that this scene was only part of a larger representation

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(1) See below, pp. 148-152.

(2) ASAE 38, pl. XCV.

(3) ZAS 80, p. 139; Et. Drioton, "Une représentation de la famine sur un bas-relief égyptien de la Ve Dynastie", in BIE 25 (1943), pp. 45-54; see also S. Schott, "Aufnahmen vom Hungersnotrelief aus dem Aufweg der Unaspyramide" in Rd É 17 (1965), pp. 8-13, pls. 1-4. One of the blocks, the biggest, is in Saqqara Museum and the other is in the Louvre, ibid., pl. 4b.

which is completely lost. This is most unfortunate and prevents us from offering a sure interpretation. However, we have here two registers depicting people dying of starvation. They appear to be foreigners, probably Asiatics. One may note the heavy hair-style and the goatee beards visible on some of the men. The scene is executed with an appalling realism that exhibits absolute despair by means of expressive gestures and meaningful actions. Thus the upper register successively portrays a woman giving a cup of water to a dying man while her child pleads for food; a man falling into the arms of a woman; and another man collapsing in the embrace of his wife. The lower register shows a woman perhaps eating lice, another man supported by two relatives, a woman tearing her hair in grief and another figure.

Since the representation is incomplete we do not know exactly what the artist intended to portray. Was it an actual illustration of a real famine that struck a foreign people during the reign of Unas? Why then should it be portrayed here? Is it to emphasise the importance of the role of the king as a source of food and fertility with regard to Egypt? Or is it a negative guarantee against starvation which the Egyptian dreaded in the Hereafter and which finds its echo in the Pyramid Texts, "The abomination of Unas is hunger, he does not eat it"[1]? The one thing of which we may be sure is that the whole

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(1) Pyr. Texts, § 131

scene resounded to the glory of the king in some way. Perhaps to show his beneficence even to foreigners? One cannot say. However this may be, we see here the work of a talented artist who shows extraordinary originality. This scene is in fact unique in the history of Egyptian pictorial art.

B. Narrative in Private Tombs

During his excavations in the archaic cemetery at Helwan, Mr. Z. Saad found a number of small inscribed limestone stelae which were fixed at the ceilings of some of the tombs of private individuals[1]. They all belong to the Second Dynasty. This marks the beginning of decorating the private tombs. The reliefs on such stelae, crudely executed with very poor workmanship, depict the well-known "scene" of the deceased before, and extending his hand towards, a table on which rest loaves of bread; around him are lists of all the necessities which he may look for in the Hereafter. The stelae were put with their representations facing downwards, i.e. to the burial place. Mr. Saad expressed the opinion that they were used to indicate the exit for the soul of the deceased whenever it ascended to heaven[2].

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(1) Z. Y. Saad, Royal Excavations at Saqqara and Helwan (1941-1945), Le Caire, 1957, pp. 172-173, and also by the same author, Ceiling Stelae in Second Dynasty Tombs, Le Caire, 1957.

(2) Saad, op.cit., p. 173.

At the end of the Second Dynasty these slab stelae were put in the compound niches of the crude-brick mastabas[1].

From the beginning of the Third Dynasty, probably contemporary with king Zoser himself, we have the famous brick mastaba of Hesy-reʿ at Saqqara[2]. In the west face of the long internal corridor which is parallel to the east face of the mastaba are eleven recesses in which inscribed wooden panels once stood. At least six of these panels have been found, some of them in very good condition, and executed with tremendous finesse. Four of them show the deceased standing in different attitudes and wearing different wigs. The fifth shows him seated at an offering table.

More important, however, is the fact that in this mastaba we find what may be the earliest mural decoration in a private tomb, as far as we know[3]. The walls of the internal corridor as well as the recesses themselves were

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(1) The earliest known example of a stela in a niche is that of princess Sehefener at Saqqara, see J. E. Quibell, Excavations at Saqqara, (1912-1914), Le Caire, 1923, p. 10, pl. XXVI.

(2) J. E. Quibell, Excavations at Saqqara (1911-1912), The Tomb of Hesy, Le Caire, 1913.

(3) The earliest surviving mural decoration in the form of geometrical patterns have been found in tomb no. 3505 of Ka-ā at Saqqara, see W. Emery, Great Tombs of the First Dynasty, III, London 1958, p. 6, pls. 6-8.

plastered and painted with geometrical and mat patterns, various household articles and personal equipment. There is even a possibility that at the end of the east wall a seated figure of Hesy-re^{c} was represented viewing the articles and material on the wall. Meanwhile, the outer corridor contained fragments of painting showing the earliest scenes from daily life to be represented in private chapels. A fragment on the west wall shows a crocodile waiting at a ford, four oxen and two human figures. Other fragments of men engaged in uncertain activities were also found[1].

The transition period between the end of Dynasty III and the beginning of Dynasty IV (Huni-Senefru), brought two developments in the chapels of the crude-brick mastabas. First, the offering niches were lined with stone carved with reliefs and inscriptions. An example is to be found in the mastaba of Kha-bau-seker and his wife Hathor-nefer-hotep at Saqqara[2]. Yet, beside the standing figures of the deceased and his wife on each stela, the only scene depicted was that of the table and a compartmented list of offerings.

The second development was the lining of all the interior cruciform chapel with stone, thus providing greatly expanded surfaces for decoration.

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(1) Quibell, op.cit., p.10, pls. VII (2) and XV.

(2) Margaret A. Murray, Saqqara Mastabas, I, London, 1905, pls. I-II.

From Saqqara we have a typical example in the tomb of Methen[1]. A hunting scene is represented on the east wall and extends to the south wall. The standing figure of Methen dominates the whole scene which extends over five registers in which are depicted gazelles and hunting dogs seizing some of them. On the east wall the first scene of butchery known to us makes its appearance. Also on the east wall we see men carrying equipment and furniture, etc.

From this period also we have the chapels of Meidum, of Rʿ-hotep and his wife Nofret, Nefermaat and his wife Atet[2]. The scenes in the chapels of the first mastaba are carried out in relief while in the chapels of the second a new method was attempted. The figures were deeply cut into the stone and then filled with coloured paste. This technique was possibly adopted in an attempt to ensure that the figures were preserved and would not be erased. On the other hand, there must have been a real danger of the dry paste falling out with relative ease and this may perhaps explain why the experiment was never repeated. At any rate, new scenes and subjects appear in these chapels owing to the large surfaces they provided. Hence, we have scenes of hunting, boating, fishing, butchery, curing fish, ploughing, trapping birds, and children

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(1) L.D., II, pls. 3-6.

(2) Published by F. Petrie, Medum, London, 1892.

playing with animals. The significance of these scenes is that in the Meidum mastabas we find the real beginning of the long series of scenes from everyday life; a line of tradition which henceforth dominated all the tomb decoration in Ancient Egypt.

The progress in depicting scenes from daily life was interrupted by the reign of king Khufu and his immediate suceessors. We have already mentioned that the absolute centralisation of power and divine kingship culminated in the person of that king. One result of this is the Giza cemetery of the Fourth Dynasty which was concentrated around the pyramids of the kings to demonstrate their supremacy. The streets of mastabas of the individuals were planned and laid down by the king himself. This seems to have restricted the freedom of the individual in decorating his own tomb. Even the slab stela which shows the usual table scene, was given by the king as a sign of royal favour[1].

In the reign of Khafrē some tombs of the royal princes and princesses escaped that fate to some extent. Hence, we find in the tomb of Merytytes[2] men carrying fish and the slaughter of a bull on the false door. Even when

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(1) A detailed study of the Giza Necropolis is that by G. Reisner, A History of the Giza Necropolis, vol. I, Cambridge, 1942.

(2) Smith, History, p. 160 and fig. 66.

the relaxation of the power of the king came in the reign of Menkaure the L-shaped style of the Giza mastabas did not allow many scenes to be depicted owing to its inherent nature which offered no large surfaces for decoration. Meanwhile, towards the end of the dynasty, in fact from the reign of Menkaure, a new kind of tomb came into existence, namely the rock-cut tomb. The earliest decorated example of this kind is the tomb of Debehen at Giza[1] where we find the earliest known illustrations of funeral rites. The introduction of this type of tomb provided extensive wall surfaces suitable for decoration. Thus the scenes from daily life multiplied until they reached their peak in Dynasties V and VI.

The rise of the Fifth Dynasty accompanied by the decentralisation of the royal power and the increase of the power of private individuals had a great influence on tomb decoration. Firstly, the main cemeteries of the officials shifted from Giza to Saqqara. Secondly, the nomarchs did not feel compelled to be buried around the pyramid of the king. They began excavating their own tombs in their own nomes surrounded by their followers. This, consequently, marked the beginning of the provincial cemeteries in many places in Egypt such as Deshasheh, Zawyet el-Amwat (or el-Maiyitin), El-Sheikh Sa'id, Deir el-Gebrawi, Meir and even Aswan. Finally, as a mark

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(1) Selim Hassan, Excavations at Giza, vol. IV (1932-1933), pp. 159-188.

of personal ostentation, the tombs became bigger and bigger and the multiple-roomed chapels increased[1]. Thus we have the great tombs of the nobles decorated with all aspects of daily life as well as religious scenes. Scenes of agricultural pursuits, arts and crafts, cooking and baking, boating and boat building, brewing, life in the marshes including fishing and fowling, hunting wild animals in the desert, funerary rituals, etc., were repeated from one tomb to another[2].

As we mentioned above, all these scenes, except perhaps the funerary rituals and some other exceptions, depict typical occurrences of everyday life in Egypt; hence the lack of all qualities of narrative. To make the position clearer, let us dwell for a while on one specific example of these representations, namely agricultural pursuits. These representations which appeared as early as the tombs of Meidum from the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty, are one of the most frequent type of scenes that one finds in tombs of all periods. We can obtain a remarkably complete idea of all the steps taken by the Egyptian peasant in raising his crops. The ploughing, sowing,

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(1) For example the famous tomb at Mereruka at Saqqara has at least 33 rooms, see Duell, The Mastaba of Mereruka, 2 vols.

(2) These scenes were studied by P. Montet, Les scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire, Strasburg, 1925, and Everyday Life in Egypt in the Days of Ramesses the Great, translated by A. R. Maxwell-Hyslop, London, 1958.

hoeing and treading the seed into the soil by sheep or pigs, are the first scenes. Then come the scenes of harvest. Men are seen cutting the wheat or barley with sickles, or pulling the flax by the roots. The sheaves are bundled and then packed in a rope pannier. Donkeys are driven to the fields, then loaded with panniers and driven back to the threshing-floor. There the panniers are emptied and a sufficiently thick layer of grain is spread out. Men drive oxen or donkeys on these layers of grain to separate the grain from the chaff. Next, the threshed grain is forked into small heaps and women brush away the chaff from the top. Then by means of scoops they winnow the grain in the air. Once this is finished the crop is measured by bushels, recorded by scribes and then stored in special granaries of mud[1]. Accompanying these scenes are short explanatory legends which served as titles for the various activities and record the back-chat among the working peasants.

The number of these scenes depicted differed from one tomb to another in relation to the space allocated and possibly to the choice of the tomb owner himself. Sometimes a scene or two stood for the whole sequence, and on other occasions the processes are represented almost completely.

Generally speaking, the steps were arranged in the most elaborate

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(1) Scènes de la vie privée, pp. 180 ff., and op.cit., pp. 108 ff.

manner, one step after the other. In the Old Kingdom tombs there was a strong tendency to arrange the scenes in a downward sequence from the top of the wall towards the bottom. In the New Kingdom, by contrast, the sequence of scenes usually progressed upwards, while in the Middle Kingdom sequences could occur in both directions[1].

However elaborate the arrangement of the different episodes may be, this must not conceal the fact that they depict typical actions of everyday life; events that could take place any time anywhere. Nothing is specific about them, not even the legends which are formal, repetitive and generalised; hence these scenes cannot be considered narrative at all.

This example may give us a clear idea of how very difficult it is to find scenes of true narrative in the private tombs. In view of the nature of Egyptian art this is not surprising. However, one may meet some rare exceptions in which narrative elements may be detected; these are funerary and war scenes.

The Funerary Scenes

In our view the funerary scenes present a peculiar problem in Egyptian

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(1) The scenes in Khety (No. 17), Baqt (No. 29), Amenemhat (No. 2) and Khnum-hotep (No. 3), at Beni Hasan develop upwards; while the scenes in the tombs of Tehuti-nakht (No. 1) and Tehuti-hotep (No. 2) at El-Bersheh develop downwards.

art. There is no doubt that the episodes of a funerary sequence are standardised and repetitive. There are even some episodes depicted concerning which we doubt very much whether they were actually performed in the ceremonies. In this sense one would hesitate to include the funerary scenes in our study of narrative. Yet, there is no doubt also that these scenes do recall particular events which must have occurred once for every deceased person. Furthermore, there appear in some tombs so many recognisable characters functioning in successive scenes and particular places, all of which give an idea of telling a story with an air of actuality.

The funeral scenes from the tomb of Debehen in Giza[1], from the middle of Dynasty IV, are the earliest scenes of this type known to us. In Dynasty V the scenes expanded till they reached their zenith in Dynasty VI, as in the tomb of Pepi-ankh-ḥeni at Meir[2].

The funeral scenes contained several episodes, thirteen in all, beginning from the moment the corpse was carried from the Pr-dt in the village and ending with the actual interment of the body. Grdseloff divided these episodes into two main ceremonies which occupied two days[3]. These two days were

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(1) L.D., II, pl. 35, cf. also Hasan, Exc.at Giza, IV, pp. 175 ff, fig. 122.

(2) A. M. Blackman, The Rock Tombs of Meir, V, London, 1953, pls. XLII-XLIII.

(3) B. Grdseloff, Das Ägyptische Reinigungszelt, Le Caire, 1941, and see a review of this thesis by Et.Drioton in ASAE 40 (1940/41), pp. 1007-1014.

separated by an interval of not less than seventy days during which the body was mummified in the embalming-house[1].

Naturally, there is no single tomb that contains the whole sequence of scenes; instead every one showed some selected episodes in relation to the space allocated for them and the choice of the owner. Therefore, in establishing a complete cycle of these episodes one has to combine the evidence from all of the known tombs.

1. The First Ceremony

First we see the body carried away from the Pr-dt which has been translated by Grdseloff as "Wohnstätte"[2]. Drioton rejects this translation and takes in as "... un depositoire situé en ville, où l'on procédait à la dernière toilette du mort et d'où l'on partait pour la nécropole"[3]. Wilson, on the other hand, takes it as "the house of the estate which was the property in this world

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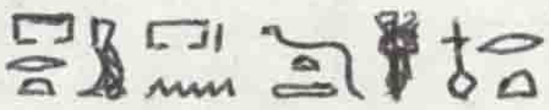
(1) The period of seventy days was the commonest one although in the tomb of Meresankh III the number is 272 days. See J. Wilson, "Funeral Services of the Egyptian Old Kingdom", in JNES 3, pp. 201-218. For a further discussion of the period of mummification see A. Rowe, ASAE 38, pp. 174-177, and see also L. Habachi, ASAE 47 (1947), pp. 261-282.

(2) Op.cit., p. 5.

(3) Op.cit., p. 1008.

which provided for existence into eternity"[1]. In the tombs of Ankh-ma-hor[2], Idw[3] and Mereruka[4], we see the women showing all the signs of grief, some of them are even collapsing while others support them. A daughter laments, "O my father, my gracious lord"[5], and another cries, "O my beloved one, lord of reverence ... Anubis will beautify thee"[6]. The scene as a whole is titled  [7]. Three men are then seen carrying the sarcophagus in a procession to the river, or a canal. The procession includes a kite, the seal-bearer of the god (i.e. the king), the embalmer of Anubis and a lector priest. It is clear that the number of men officiating could be either more or less than these. In the tomb of Idw for instance, we see the three men carrying the sarcophagus and nobody else. One of the onlookers may say "Ah look, it is the escort of that honoured one"[8].

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(1) Op.cit., p. 203.

(2) J. Capart, Une rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah, II, Bruxelles, 1907, pls. LXX-LXXII

(3) W. S. Smith, History, fig. 84b.

(4) Duell, Mereruka, II, pl. 130.

(5) Ankh-ma-hor, Capart, Rue de tomb., pl. LXX.

(6) Duell, Mereruka, II, pl. 130.

(7) Ankh-ma-hor, Capart, op.cit., pl. LXX.

(8) Idw, Smith, History, fig. 84b.

On their arrival at the water's edge they find boats waiting for them. The scene of crossing the water is the most frequent in the funeral episodes. We are not sure whether this water represents the Nile or a canal. In many tombs, however, this crossing could be a symbolic act showing the crossing to the realm of the dead. In any event, the coffin is placed aboard and escorted by one or two kites, a lector priest, an embalmer and other officiants. A title for such a scene is  , "crossing to the washing-tent"[1].

When the boats arrive at the other bank of the river or canal, the people on board then land and carry the coffin to the washing-tent. The latter has been discussed in detail by Grdseloff, Drioton and S. Hassan[2], so that we need not describe it in detail here. It is sufficient to say that it was a temporary construction erected of light material, perhaps wood, and had two entrances. There the deceased was received by twelve men in two groups[3].

When the initial washing of the body was finished, it was carried in a

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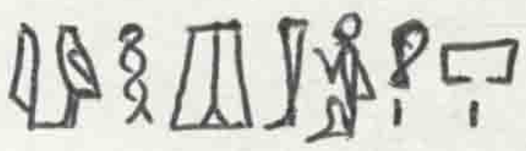
(1) Idw, ibid., fig. 84b.

(2) Exc. at Giza, IV, pp. 78-82.

(3) Pepi-ankh-ḥeni, Blackman, Meir, V, pl. XLII. Cf. pls. 15-16.

procession including the lector priest, the embalmer and the kite to the embalming-house. In Pepi-ankh-ḥeni the scene is titled  "Escorting to the embalming-house"[1]. As the body was going to stay here for more than two months, the embalming-house was built of either mud-brick or stone. It has, according to the representation from Pepi-ankh-ḥeni, a monumental entrance and a rear exit. The illustration of this house in the tomb of Qar at Giza[2] shows an entrance to a long passage. An L-shaped room to the right gives access to a small room which leads to "The middle court of the embalming-house", a large rectangular room[3]. There, in this building, the body was delivered to the embalmers. This was followed by the rite of presenting offerings dedicated to the deceased by the lector priest who carries a jar and is accompanied by the text  "The lector priest enters the house"[4]. In the tomb of Pepi-ankh-ḥeni the priest is seen reading from a roll while accompanied by other officiants. After the body has been handed over, the procession carrying the empty coffin makes its way back to the river. The only evidence of this episode is an incomplete

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(1) Ibid., pl. XLII.

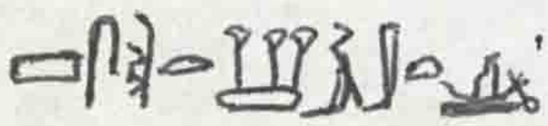
(2) Smith, History, fig. 84b.

(3) A detailed study is to be found in S. Hassan, op.cit., pp. 83-87.

(4) Qar, Smith, op.cit.

scene in the tomb of Pepi-ankh-ḥeni. Thus the first ceremony is concluded.

2. The Second Ceremony

All but one of the episodes performed in the second ceremony are illustrated in the tomb of Pepi-ankh-ḥeni[1]. The period of embalming has expired and now the priests and mourners are seen stepping into the boats which will ferry them across to the other shore. They are accompanied by the legend,  "Escorting to the papyrus-boat". On the arrival of the boats at the other shore they land. All of them, then, move straight to the embalming-house in a procession which includes the three men carrying the empty sarcophagus, lector priest and a kite. The ritual of an offering ceremony is performed. Next, the men move out carrying with them the mummy in the sarcophagus. In the tomb of Pepi-ankh-ḥeni they move straight to the washing-tent. This may have been so but there is another apisode which I am inclined to insert at this point, namely the pilgrimage to the sacred towns of Buto, Sais, Heliopolis and later

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(1) Blackman, Meir, V, pl. XLIII.

Abydos[1]. Each one of these towns had a particular religious and political importance in prehistoric times. Before the end of Dynasty V the pilgrimage to these sacred towns was confined to the royal bodies. At Buto they were received by the Mww-dancers with their peculiar head dress which in some respects resembles the White Crown. These dancers represent the royal ancestors of the king in Buto and came to be called "the Spirits of Buto" in later times. In accordance with the decline of the royal power in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties and the corresponding appropriation of the royal rituals by private individuals, we now find scenes of such a pilgrimage in the private tombs of Dynasty VI[2]. A boat carrying the bier is towed on the

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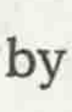
(1) An important study of this pilgrimage and the role played by the Mww-dancers was made by H. Junker, "Der Tanz der Mww und der Butische Begräbnis in Alten Reich", in MDIK 9 (1940), pp. 1-39. See a review of this article by B. Van de Walle in Chr.d'Égypte 16 No. 31 (Jan. 1941), pp. 222-226. See also J. Vandier, "Quelques remarques sur les scènes de pélirage aux villes saintes dans les tombes de la XVIIIe Dyn.", in Chr.d'Egypte 19, No. 37 (Jan. 1944), pp. 35 ff. Finally, see J. Settgeast, Untersuchungen zu Altägyptischen Bestattungsdarstellungen, Hamburg, 1963, pp. 65-74.

(2) In the tombs of Neb-kau-her, Idwt, Ptah-hotep II, Ihy, at Saqqara, and Senefru-ini-ishtef at Dahshur. Cf. R. Macramallah, Le mastaba d'Idout, Le Caire, 1935, pl. VIII; J. de Morgan, Fouilles à Dahchour (1894-1895), pl. XXII; cf. also Junker, op.cit., figs. 1-5 and Settgast, op.cit., pl. 6.

wrt-canal which connects Sais with Buto[1]. Sais, the ancient town of Neith, is represented by a light structure, a sanctuary flanked by two  ntr-signs, one on each side, and its facade is decorated by a frieze of Khekeru. Sometimes the word  was written between the two ntr-signs. Buto, on the other hand, is represented by one or more of the primitive shrines  known later as pr-nw, the symbolic palace of the kings of Lower Egypt. Palm-trees separated the shrines of pr-nw from each other, indicating, perhaps, that they were set in a sacred grove[2]. In the Old Kingdom Helipolis was not represented but was mentioned by name[3]. Now the question is, did this pilgrimage really take place? In the earliest times, and with regard to the king, it is possible; but with private persons it seems that such light structures were installed somewhere on the way to the washing-tent and a token visit to them symbolised the visit to the towns themselves[4]. One may even doubt whether these structures were ever erected, and the whole affair may have been a mere picturing of rituals which never took place at this

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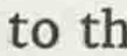
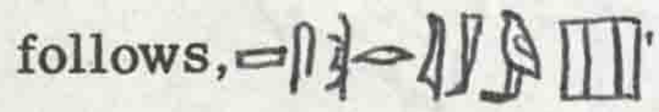
(1) S. Hassan, unaware of Junker's article, interpreted the Buto-Sais scene as a crossing to the western bank, op.cit., p. 72, while Wilson thought that the undulating line  was the uneven ground "and is arguably already on the western land journey", op.cit., p.

(2) Ingrid Wallert, Die Palmen in Alten Ägypten, Berlin, 1962, p. 115.

(3) Settgast, op.cit., p. 72.

(4) De Walle, op.cit., p. 223.

period[1].

At any rate, a last washing was needed before the actual interment of the body. That is why the body was taken once more to the washing-tent. It was received by only eight men this time. The explanatory legend runs as follows,  "Escorting to the washing-tent"[2]. Grdseloff argues that the main reason for the second visit to the washing-tent was to perform the ceremonies of "opening the mouth"[3]. Professor S. Hassan rejects this opinion on the ground that the opening the mouth ceremonies were performed on the statue of the deceased and not on his mummy. Moreover, these ceremonies took place in the Ḥt-nbw "the house of gold" (i.e., the sculptor's studio) and not in the washing-tent. He then goes on to suggest, "Perhaps the second visit to the washing-tent was for the recitation of prayers and to form a meeting-place for those persons who wished to take part in the ceremonies of interment"[4].

Then, this was followed by removal of the body for the actual interment. In Pepi-ankh-ḥeni we see three men carrying the coffin and accompanied by five men who are carrying jars and tomb equipment. In the tomb of Idw the

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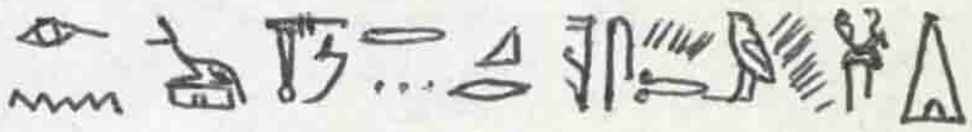
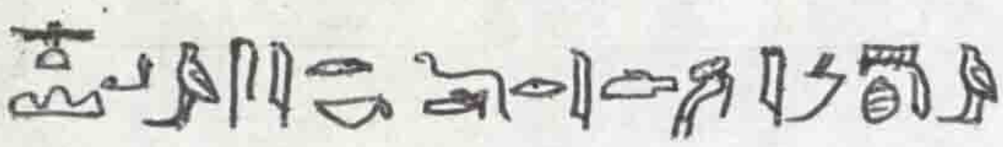
(1) Settgast, op.cit., p. 73.

(2) Pepi-ankh-ḥeni, Meir, V, pl. XLIII.

(3) Grdseloff, op.cit., p. 17.

(4) S. Hassan, Exc. at Giza, IV, pp. 76-77.

coffin rests on a sledge drawn by six men and a pair of oxen. A man is seen pouring water (or milk?) in front of the procession, which is followed by a lector priest. The whole scene is described   "Anubis has performed the landing. May the West encoffin you and the desert place its arms around you. Said to the honoured one Idw"[1].

As noted above, the representation of these ceremonies is so standardised in a whole series of tombs that one can combine their total evidence to reconstitute the various episodes with some confidence. This we owe to their typical nature. In fact the nature of these scenes is not much different from the typical scenes of agriculture which we discussed; on the contrary, they are closely related. Nonetheless, such scenes in any given tomb are linked with the death and burial of its owner, thus they recall a particular event. Here one may be tempted to draw a parallel with the royal scenes in which the historical events were recorded in timeless and typical terms.

The War Scenes

After the representations of prehistoric times we do not meet a complete scene of true narrative until we come to the war scenes in the rock-cut tomb

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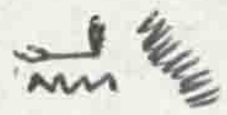
(1) Smith, History, fig. 84b.

of Inti at Deshasheh[1]. The date of this tomb is not yet definitely settled. Petrie[2], followed by Brunner[3], dates it to the second half of Dynasty V, but W. S. Smith argues that it cannot be earlier than the middle of Dynasty VI[4].

The war scene is depicted on the north half of the east wall of the hall. Unofrtunately, it has suffered extensive damage and most of the inscription that once accompanied it is almost entirely lost. The scene, however, illustrates an Egyptian siege of a fortified town of whose name and exact locality we are not sure. Out of the damaged inscription two names are legible, 'Ndia' and  'Ain'. They are presumed to be in Southern Palestine[5].

The scene (pl. 12B) is divided into two parts; on the left is the actual fight in the open outside the fort, recorded in four registers. In the upper register may be discerned the remains of the Egyptian archers marching towards the fort. In the lower two registers the Egyptian soliders armed

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(1) W. M. F. Petrie, Deshasheh, London, 1898, pl. IV.

(2) Ibid., p. 4.

(3) H. Brunner, Die Anlagen der Ägyptischen Felsgräbern, Hamburg, 1936, pp. 37-8.

(4) Smith, History, p. 219.

(5) So, in spite of the fact that H. Frankfort thought it possible that a Libyan town was involved (ignoring the place-name); see "Egypt and Syria in the First Intermediate Period", JEA 12 (1926), p.81 note 3. For a Semitic origin of Ndi3, see Albright, Vocalization of the Egyptian Sylabic Orthography, 1934, p.9 & note 23.

with battle-axes strike down the Beduin who vainly fight back with clubs. Most of the Beduin are shown pierced by arrows. The bottom register shows bound captives, male and female, led by two soldiers one of whom is carrying a captive girl on his shoulders. To link this part of the battle with the other part inside the fort, the artist used two devices; firstly the ladder which is put against the wall of the fort and which will eventually be used to storm it. Secondly, two soldiers are shown mining the wall of the fort with long pikes under the supervision of an officer who stands leaning on a staff.

Inside the fort the representation is divided into five registers. In the bottom one we see a man kneeling listening to detect where the soldiers are mining. He raises his hand to hush a man who is waiting behind him. Behind the latter, we see a woman and a dead man. In the upper two registers, apparently for the sake of honour, the women of the fort are striking their men who escaped the fight[1]. In the meantime, the governor of the fort sits in distress tearing his hair with grief, while a young woman is trying to calm him down. In front of him stands a woman crying and an old man conducted by a child. Further to the left a woman is striking a man down. In the top register is perhaps the most dramatic group of all; a man is breaking his bow, as sign of submission, in front of his wife and little son. Behind this group,

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(1) Petrie took these men as Beduin auxiliaries, op.cit., p.6.

to the left, is another woman striking a man.

Another war scene (pl. 17 A) is to be found in the tomb of Ka-em-ḥeset from Dynasty VI at Saqqara[1]. It also illustrates the siege of a town. Men are seen climbing a wheeled ladder to storm the town while another man is mining the wall with a hoe under the supervision of two officers leaning on staves. On the top a soldier is seen smiting a Beduin. Inside the fort itself there are two registers of combatants, then a register showing a man driving his sheep and cattle, looking for a shelter. In the bottom register we see women and children gathered in a shelter.

From our point of view the Deshasheh scene is far more expressive and much more significant than that of Saqqara. There is nothing typical about it, either in subject matter or in rendition. It certainly portrays a single event in a manner so specific as to provide a first class pictorial story. The scene is full of dramatic moments and temporal incidents which furnish it with most elements of narrative. Such emotional moments full of dramatic tension are shown particularly inside the fort where the women are defending their honour, the prince is tearing his hair and is confronted by his despairing people, and finally the man breaking his bow in front of his family. The unity of the four registers outside is maintained by the figure of the fort which is

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(1) J. E. Quibell and A. G. K. Hayter, Teti Pyramid, North Side, Le Caire, 1922, frontspiece, and Smith, History, fig. 85.

depicted in the conventional Egyptian manner of a combination between a ground plan and an elevation. It brackets the four registers together. Meanwhile the unity of all that is going on both outside and inside the fort is maintained through the representation of the ladder on the one hand and the mining soldiers outside and listeners inside on the other.

It is amazing that the Egyptian artist, who seemed to be entirely pre-occupied with drawing typical scenes of daily life, should produce such a scene with most of the qualities of narrative. Nevertheless, one has to bear in mind that such a scene appeared at the end of the Fifth Dynasty, that is to say at the time of the decline of the central power of the king and the appearance of non-typical events in the royal scenes in the Causeway of Unas. Moreover, particular significance should be attributed to the fact that this scene occurs in a provincial tomb; therefore the artist was relatively free from the influence of the strong conventions that controlled his fellow artists in the capital Memphis. This would account for the inferiority, from our standpoint, of the Saqqara scene. For although the Saqqara artist dealt with the same subject, his treatment seems to be strongly under the influence of the conventions adhered to in the neighbouring tombs. However, to his credit, the group of women and children gathered in a shelter is an original detail.

CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD AND MIDDLE KINGDOM

I. The First Intermediate Period

In the previous chapter we mentioned that during the Fifth Dynasty the central power of the king began to decline while the local families in some of the provinces began to gain influence and to rise to power. This state of affairs went on constantly throughout the Sixth Dynasty. Then, the long and increasingly weak reign of Peip II, which lasted for some 94 years, seems by the end of Dynasty VI to have had disastrous effects on the Egyptian political and social system. After his death the royal power was so weak and the feudal authority of the nomarchs was so strong that the power of the monarchy, the key-stone of Egyptian life, collapsed. This brought the glorious era of the Old Kingdom to a melancholy close. Now the country with no strong ruler in power entered into a period of partial anarchy and social upheaval that is conventionally known as the First Intermediate Period.

True, during that miserable period, Egypt had royal dynasties. At the old capital of Memphis presided the shadowy kings of the Seventh and Eighth Dynasties. Obviously they had little effective power over the nomes

of Egypt. Later they were supplanted by an Achtoy (or Khety), the governer of the Twentieth Nome of Upper Egypt known as Nen-nesut (Gk. Herakleopolis) on the present site of Ihnasya el-Medineh. Achtoy established the Ninth and Tenth Dynasties. He and his successors endeavoured to impose their rule over the other nomarchs. Their endeavours obtained considerable but partial success and they gained the adhesion of some of the nomarchs; yet the country was by no means completely under their authority. On the contrary, the nomes which had formed parts of a strong centralized administration during the Old Kingdom now became virtually independent states, each one ruled by its local prince whose right to rule became hereditary. In fact, each one of them had his own army, built his own fleet, dated events to the years of his reign, and even sometimes arrogated to himself privileges and titles previously reserved for the kings alone.

Naturally, the rivalry among these princes led to conflicts which plunged parts of the country into a kind of civil war that brought it into social disorder. The security of individuals could not always be maintained; hence robbery, fear and misery proliferated in the land of Egypt. To make things worse, as the frontiers were left unprotected, foreign forces began to infiltrate, if not openly to invade, and some sporadic raids were carried out from the North-east and undoubtedly from the

South.[1] This added to the chaotic and insecure situation particularly in Lower Egypt.

The disintegration of the nomarchial system which was believed by the Egyptians to be divine, hence eternal, was a severe blow to the Egyptians in general and the intellectual class in particular. It deeply disturbed their conscience, shook their religious beliefs and upset their social values. They felt that all these beliefs and values must be re-examined. The true extent of the stability of their order must be determined. And like any country in a crisis, there were two general attitudes among the intellectuals. There were those who were so pessimistic because "laughter has disappeared, and is

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(1) Asiatics occur in the Instructions for Merykare, see ANET, p. 416, and in The Admonitions of Ipw-wer, ibid., p. 444. Ever since Gardiner's basic study, Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage, Leipzig, 1909, Ipw-wer has been interpreted as referring to the First Intermediate Period. But it should be noted that J. Van Seters in a recent article in JEA 50 (1964), pp. 13-23, has argued impressively for dating the Admonitions to the Second Intermediate Period, but without claiming finality for this thesis as yet. Even if on these grounds Ipw-wer were excluded as evidence for the First Intermediate Period, the probability of Nubian pressure on Egypt visible therein (ANET, p. 443) is in any case indicated by the Northward movement of the C-group peoples attested archaeologically for this period, see T. Säve-Söderbergh, Ägypten und Nubien, Lund, 1941, p. 39. For textual comments and a fresh translation of Ipw-wer see R. O. Faulkner, JEA 50, pp. 24-36, and JEA 51 (1965), pp. 53-62.

[no longer] made; it is groaning that is throughout the land, mingled with complaints"[1]. Those pessimistic people viewed the future as so hopeless and gloomy that they longed for death; "Death is in my sight today as when a man desires to see home when he has spent many years in captivity"[2]. On the other hand, there were those who criticised the condition of the country and looked for means to deliver it from its misery. Representing these people is the literature of social and political reform, such as The Protests of the Eloquent Peasant[3] and The Instructions for King Merykare[4]. In fact the search for social justice and fresh values went on well into the Middle Kingdom itself when we have The Instructions of King Amenemhat I[5] and The Prophecy of Neferti[6], both belonging to the Twelfth Dynasty.

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(1) Ipw-wer (Adm. 3, 10); see Faulkner, JEA 51, p. 55 and ANET, p. 442.

(2) The Man Who was Tired of Life, ibid., p. 407, and for a recent translation see R. O. Faulkner, JEA 42 (1956), p. 30 (lines 140-142).

(3) ANET, pp. 407 ff.

(4) Ibid., pp. 414 ff.

(5) ANET, pp. 418-419.

(6) Ibid., pp. 444 ff. It must be pointed out, however, that the name is no longer to be read Nefer-rehu ~~but~~ not Neferti, see G. Posener, in RdÉ 8 (1951), p. 174. And for a general study of the literature of Dynasty XII, see G. Posener, Littérature et politique dans l'Égypte de la XII^{e} Dynastie, Paris, 1956.

If the crisis in the Egyptian conscience following the collapse of the absolute monarchy and the chronic state of unrest produced a remarkable flowering in Egyptian thinking, things were exactly the opposite in the realm of art. This was to be expected since the kingship sponsored art and artists. No doubt it gave them the security and livelihood to practise their skill in its great projects. Thus, a school of art had long been established at Memphis. But when the kingship collapsed this school degenerated and its influence deteriorated. While starting from the accepted conventions of the Memphite school, each nome henceforth was left to form its own school and develop its own style which of course differed from one province to another. Therefore in this period arose what is conventionally termed Provincial Art which, generally speaking, was inferior in technique and workmanship to the great school of Memphis.

Between the reigns of Pepi II of the Sixth Dynasty and Neb-hepet-re Montu-hotep of the Eleventh we do not have royal reliefs of any significance. The decorated private tombs are not numerous, yet they offer satisfactory examples for the different provincial styles and techniques in painting and in low relief. In Saqqara, a number of tombs were discovered around the pyramid of king Teti[1]. The scenes in these tombs are characteristically

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(1) J. E. Quibell, Excavations at Saqqara (1905-1906), Le Caire, 1907, pls. XIX-XX.

reduced to small panels containing summary treatments of the subjects of the Old Kingdom tombs[1]. Here the technique, although superior to that in many other places in Egypt during this period, is certainly inferior to that in the neighbouring tombs of the previous era. Examples of provincial art are to be found in the tombs of Themerery and Desher at Deir el-Malek[2], the tomb of Uah-ankh II at Qau el-Kebir[3], the tombs of Meru, Hegy and Khenu-nekhen at Nagᶜ ed-Deir[4] and the tomb of User at Sheikh Farag[5], near Nagᶜ ed-Deir district. Examples are also furnished by the tombs of Mery I, Mery II and Sobek-nefer at Hagrasah near Sohag[6], and the tomb of Ihy, No. 186 at Thebes[7]. The tombs of Sobek-hotep and Ankh-tifi-nakht at El Moᶜalla[8] and of Mekhu/sabni and Pepi-nakht at Aswan[9] also typically illustrate provincial art,

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(1) Smith, History, p. 224.

(2) W. Wreszinski, Bericht über die Photographische Expedition von Kairo bis Wadi Halfa, Leipzig, 1924, pls. 23-24.

(3) W. M. F. Petrie, Antaeopolis, The Tombs of Qau, London, 1930, pls. XXIII-XXVIII.

(4) Smith, op.cit., pp. 225-226.

(5) Ibid., p. 226.

(6) W. M. F. Petrie, Athribis, London, 1908, pls. VII-XIII.

(7) P. E. Newberry, ASAE 4 (1903), pp. 97-100, pls. I-III, and Smith, op.cit., p. 226.

(8) J. Vandier, Moᶜalla, Le Caire, 1950.

(9) De Morgan, Catalogue des Monuments, pp. 143 ff.

notwithstanding the fact that the tombs of Aswan belong to the late Sixth Dynasty.

As already mentioned the style of relief and painting differs from one province to another. Innovations in minor details were introduced in some of them by some of the local schools. Yet they all share a common fate of deteriorating workmanship. The reliefs are rough and the background is uneven. The execution is very poor and the proportions of the individual figures are unequal. Out of these local styles, however, developed Upper Egyptian art in the Middle Kingdom as a whole. It even exercised an influence on style well into the New Kingdom itself. The subject-matter of the decoration was drawn from the Old Kingdom repertoire, but reduced and simplified, and no new subjects were introduced. The scenes were entirely devoted to the usual aspects of daily life and the typical religious subjects already encountered. No scenes bear on specific events; consequently, no narrative scenes are found.

II The Middle Kingdom

During the reign of the two Herakleopolitan dynasties in the North, a local family of strong princes was governing in Thebes. Initially these princes seem to have recognised, at least nominally, the overlordship of the Herakloeopolitan kings. One of them, namely Intef son of Iku, called

himself, "Confidant of the king" and "Great Pillar (of) Him-who-makes-the-Two-Lands-to-Live"[1]. But it seems that his son Tpy-ʿa Montu-hotep was the first prince of this family to repudiate the overlordship of those kings and perhaps to assume the royal titulary. This marked the beginning of a long and bitter strife between the two houses of Thebes and Herakleopolis for the domination of the whole of Egypt. Each line naturally sought the support of other local families. The house of Thebes found its allies in the local families of Koptos while the rival line found its support in the princedom of El-Moʿalla and the strong lords of Assiut.

Once war between the rival dynasties had started it did not stop, except for short intervals, until the North was finally defeated and Herakleopolis capitulated. Now Egypt was united once more under the sceptre of one of its great kings, Neb-hepet-re Montu-hotep who called himself Sma-tawy, 'the Unifier of the Two Lands'. In a series of successful campaigns he expelled the foreigners, whether Asiatics or Nubians. The reign of this king, which was extended all over Egypt sometime around 2040, marks the beginning of another glorious era in Egyptian history called the Middle Kingdom, which comprised the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties. In the

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(1) W. Hayes, The Middle Kingdom in Egypt, in CAH^2, vol. I, Chapter XX, Cambridge, 1961, p. 14.

Eleventh Dynasty Thebes became, for the first time, the capital of Egypt. But when the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty assumed power they moved the capital once more to the North, to a place they called Ithet-tawy, the modern Lisht near the point where the Bahr Yusef enters the Fayum.

The rule of the strong and able kings of the Twelfth Dynasty gave Egypt another period of peace and prosperity. Nonetheless, the bases on which the power and authority of the king rested were fundamentally different from those of the Old Kingdom. In the Middle Kingdom the old dogma of the king being god and absolute ruler was theoretically maintained. But in practice, he was no longer an absolute ruler. He had to recognise the authority and influence of the feudal lords who shared his power. Hence, his temporal authority was limited by theirs. Under Amenemhat I, the independent attitude of local nomarchs still occasionally broke out into open conflict, as is indicated by the discreet remarks of Kay, son of Nehri, count of the Hare Nome (Hermopolis), a supporter of the crown[1]. However, the kings sought gradually to eliminate the independent power of the

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(1) These texts (Anthes, Hatnub, graffiti Nos. 16, 24) were dated by Hayes, in CAH, I, Ch. XX, pp. 9-10, to the end of the First Intermediate Period, following earlier scholars, but W. Schenkel, Frühmittelägyptische Studien, Bonn, 1962, pp. 91-92, has shown that Kay and his texts belong to early XIIth Dynasty, under Amenemhat I.

local princes by diplomatic means. The great inscription of Khnum-hotep III at Beni Hasan[1] shows how successive kings broke the hereditary principle by appointing the sons of local princes to different provinces. By this means, their local ties were gradually severed, and the princely families became more like officials of the crown. By the end of the reign of Senusert III, this process was largely complete; the absence of great 'feudal' tombs is symptomatic of this. However, even the position of a Senusert, with power delegated through a bureaucracy and a now-limited nobility, is a far cry from the pinnacle of absolute power enjoyed by the king at the height of the Old Kingdom.

Moreover, the upheaval of the First Intermediate Period shook the conception of divine kingship to its foundation. Although the king was still considered god, there are indications that that concept was not as deep and effective as it had been in the Old Kingdom. Gone are the days when his divinity was unquestioned. Now the king is the 'Shepherd' of his people[2].

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(1) Newberry, Beni Hasan, I, pls. XXV-XXVI, pp. 57-66.

(2) P. Kahun, 3, 14; cf. J. A. Wilson, The Burden of Egypt, Chicago, 1951, pp. 132-133. See also H. W. Fairman in Myth, Ritual and Kingship (ed. S. H. Hooke, Oxford, 1958), p. 76. Finally see J. M. A. Janssen, "De Farao als goede Herde" in Mens en Dier, Amsterdam, 1954, pp. 71-79; and D. Müller, "Der gute Hirte" in ZAS 86 (1961), pp. 126-144.

In some of the statues, particularly those produced in Upper Egypt, we find that the artist pictured the king more like a human being than like a god[1]. The face of the king, though full of dignity, betrays the inner feelings of weariness. We see a king whose face is lined by preoccupation with the heavy burdens of his kingdom. In comparison with the god-like statues of the Old Kingdom, particularly those of Khafre, one can see the enormous difference in the conception of the Middle Kingdom royal statues. Furthermore, if we examine the Instructions of Amenemhat I, we will find a similar attitude. A tired and disillusioned man who is more inclined to pessimism rather than optimism. The personal boasting of his achievements does not conceal his underlying character, subject to human passions and weaknesses. From this text, it is clear that he was the victim of a conspiracy on his life. In short, here we meet a human being with all the feelings and weaknesses of an ordinary man and who does not hesitate to express them. Even if this work were posthumous, it would still show how the author conceived of his king at that time. The question now is, was this new conception reflected in royal pictorial art?

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(1) Examples of these statues will be found in C. Aldred, The Development of Ancient Egyptian Art, The Middle Kingdom, London, 1956, figs. 50, 57-59.

A. The Royal Reliefs

It is most unfortunate that the extant royal reliefs from the Middle Kingdom are so few. With the exception of the chapel of Neb-hepet-re Montu-hotep at Denderah[1] and the sed-festival pavilion of Senusert I at Karnak, both of which were recovered almost intact, our information on the royal reliefs comes from scattered fragments. The reliefs from the Great Temple of Montu-hotep at Deir el-Bahari were found in an appalling state of preservation[2]. From a temple that the same king seems to have built at Elephantine we have only a part of a wall[3]; and from his chapel at Gebelein some blocks have survived, and these are now in Cairo Museum[4]. Also belonging to the same king are some sculptured blocks which probably come from a jubilee festival shrine[5]. The beautiful reliefs from Tod come

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(1) G. Daressy, "Chapelle de Mentouhotep III à Dendereh", in ASAE 17 (1917), pp. 226-236, pls. I-III. See also L. Habachi, "King Nebhepetre Menthuhotep : His monuments, Place in History, Deification and unusual Representations in the Form of Gods", in MDIK 19 (1963), pp. 19-28, and figs. 6-8.

(2) Published by E. Naville and H. R. Hall, The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el Bahari, in three parts, London, 1907-1913. See also Mlle. M. Werbrouck, "La decoration murale du temple des Menthouhotep", in Bull. des Mus. Roy. d'Art et d'Histoire, 3rd series, 9 (1937), pp. 36-44.

(3) Habachi, op.cit., fig. 19.

(4) Ibid., figs. 15-17.

(5) Aldred, op.cit., figs. 16-18.

from a chapel that was started by the same king and completed by his son and successor Sankh-ka-re Montu-hotep[1]. The latter king built also a chapel in Armant from which some sculptured blocks are preserved[2].

The reliefs on most of these remains indicate a tremendous development in execution, technique and workmanship. Some of them, particularly those from Tod and Armant, are of a quality rivalling the best of the Old Kingdom[3]. At the same time, they portray the same subjects of typical occurrences and ritual scenes of the kind which we have encountered before. On one of the blocks from Gebelein, for instance, we see the usual heraldic figure of the king clubbing a kneeling Libyan chieftain who is designated as "The ruler of the Libyans, Hedjwash"[4]. On another block from the same place, the king is seen smiting another enemy, an Egyptian this time. Behind the latter are the kneeling figures of a Nubian, an Asiatic and a Libyan. Above the king is the legend, "Subduing the (chiefs) of the Two Lands, establishing Upper and

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(1) F. Bisson de la Roque, Tôd (1934 à 1936), Le Caire, 1937, pp. 67-103 and pls. XVIII-XXVIII; see also Vandier, Manuel, II, p. 635, fig. 331 and Habachi, op.cit., pp. 36-37.

(2) M. S. Drower and others, Temples of Armant, Plates vol., London, 1940, pls. XCIV-XCVII.

(3) Smith, History, p. 236.

(4) Habachi, op.cit., p. 38, fig. 16.

Lower Egypt, the Foreign Lands, the Two Banks, the Nine Bows ..."[1]. The reliefs on these two blocks certainly refer to the campaigns of Montu-hotep to unify the Two Lands of Egypt and to expel the foreign intruders. But the artist has rendered the theme in the classical tradition of the ever-victorious king performing a timeless and non-transitory act.

Certainly more significant for our study are some of the blocks presumed to have come from the south lower colonnade of the temple of Montu-hotep at Deir el-Bahari, and which are kept at the present in the British Museum. Although they are very fragmentary, they show parts of scenes of battles fought by the king against his enemies whether foreigners or Egyptians[2]. Two small fragments of these seem to be the remains of a siege scene. As reconstructed by W. S. Smith[3], this shows us a ladder put against a wall of a fort. A soldier with a battle-axe at his waist is climbing up, with another already above him. Two enemies, Egyptians or foreigners, are seen falling down after having been pierced by arrows. A third soldier, also pierced by an arrow, is raising his hand to his face in agony (cf. pl. 17 B).

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(1) Ibid., p. 40 and fig. 17. One may notice that the Gebelein blocks do not offer fine relief. On the second block the artist shows inequalities of drawing such that the figure of the king is smaller than the largest of the captives on the left.

(2) Naville, op.cit., I, pls. XIV-XV.

(3) Interconnections, pp. 148-149, and fig. 185.

It is a pity that so little material survives from the Deir el-Bahari battle scenes. However, besides the enormous achievement in the quality of workmanship, the scenes seem to have been executed in a lively manner. This reminds us of the new trend of illustrating battle and siege scenes at the end of Dynasty V in the causeway of Unas, and in the tombs of Ka-em-heset and Inti at Saqqara and Deshasheh respectively.

Despite the desperately fragmentary state of the Deir el-Bahari battle scenes, we may safely assume that they actually record incidents in the long and bitter struggle conducted by Neb-hepet-re Montu-hotep in reuniting and freeing Egypt. In fact, they may record the same events which we have met with on the Gebelein blocks and which we will meet again in the battle scenes from the newly discovered tomb of the General Intef at Thebes[1]. Nonetheless, while the Gebelein blocks depict these events in a typical non-transitory manner, the Deir el-Bahari blocks show them with specific details.

As the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty moved the capital of their kingdom

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(1) See below pp.

to the North, they built their pyramids and temples there[1]. The temples have been utterly destroyed and the reliefs that remain are very few. They belong mainly to the temples of Amenemhat I and his son Senusert I. The reliefs are conventional, following the traditions of the school of Memphis[2]. Although it is difficult to determine the subjects of decoration, owing to the lack of material, it may be possible to assume that they were no different from those of the Old Kingdom in the same neighbourhood. Hence, we have to think of ritual and typical scenes with no specific content. This may be illustrated by reference to the almost complete reliefs of the sed-festival pavilion of Senusert I which was found in the foundations of the Third Pylon at Karnak[3]. The reliefs on the walls of the pavilion, which are beautifully

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(1) While Amenemhat I and Senusert I built their pyramids at El-Lisht, Amenemhat II and Senusert III built theirs at Dahshur. Senusert II, on the other hand, built his at El-Lahun and Amenemhat III at Hawara. The two pyramids at Mazghuna have usually been attributed to Amenemhat IV and Sobek-nefru-re, but it has been suggested that they may actually belong to the early XIIIth Dynasty, cf. W. C. Hayes, Egypt: From the Death of Amenemmes III to Seqenenre, in CAH 2, vol. II, Chapter II, Cambridge, 1962, p. 4. For detailed references see Porter and Moss, Bibliography, vols. IV & V.

(2) "The Egyptian Expedition", in MMA Bull., vol. 2 (1907), pp. 60-63, 113-117, 163-169; Ibid., 3 (1908), pp. 83-84, 170-173 and 184-188.

(3) The pavilion was reconstructed by H. Chevrier, see ASAE 34, pp. 172-175, and ASAE 38, pp. 567-595, pls. CII-CIIII; see also Vandier, Manuel, II, pp. 620-621.

executed, depict ritual scenes connected with the sed-festival celebrations as well as scenes of the ritual procession of the bark of Amon. Another proof will be found in the reliefs on the doorway of the temple of Senusert III at Medamud. The upper lintel is adorned with scenes illustrating the sed-festival celebrations[1]. In both cases, the scenes are far from being narrative.

In conclusion, although the remains of the royal reliefs from this period are so scanty, they betray no change in the themes and subjects of temple decoration from those of the Old Kingdom. This may sound surprising, even disappointing, since it does not seem to accord with the great changes in the social and political spheres which followed the upheaval of the First Intermediate Period and which were conspicuously reflected in the literature of that period. But to offset this feeling of disappointment one ought to bear in mind three facts. First, in spite of the great blow struck at the dogma of divine kingship during this Intermediate period, things remained superficially unchanged particularly as the strong kings of the Twelfth Dynasty restored some of the royal power. Thus, the king was formally still god. Art, being the formal instrument in the service of the king, had to reflect the outward formality of his divinity. Secondly, the survival of the old school of Memphis

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(1) See R. Cottevieille-Giraudet, Les monuments du moyen empire, in Fouilles de Médamoud (1931), Le Caire, 1933, pl. I. See also A. H. Gardiner, in JEA 30, (1944), pl. IV, pp. 31-32. The relief is kept in Cairo Museum.

in and around the capital of the Twelfth Dynasty was automatically accompanied by the survival of all its classical traditions of technique and subject-matter which were based on the conceptions of the Old Kingdom, though possibly less lively. Lastly, one has to remember the conservatism of Egyptian art itself that was so strong that the Memphite school could resist any pressure towards the introduction of any drastic changes. All these facts in combination may be considered responsible for the lack of any fundamental change in the work of the artists at this period.

Nevertheless, the great, realistic portrait statues of the Twelfth Dynasty kings suggest the existence of another, Theban artistic tradition. Possibly this Theban tradition is also reflected in the very high quality of the fragmentary reliefs of the period found in the Theban area. These reliefs show no apparent difference in theme from the Memphite tradition, there are non that can definitely be said to be 'specific', but in style and technique they are different from the contemporary reliefs from Lower Egypt.

B. <u>The Private Tombs</u>

As the feudal lords of Upper Egypt retained their power during the greater part of the Middle Kingdom, their tombs were still built or cut in their own nomes. Thus, we have the provincial tombs of Beni Hasan, Meir, Thebes, El-Bersheh and Aswan. The style of decoration in these tombs, whether painting or low relief sculpture, is distinctly different from that of

the Old Kingdom. This is to be expected since it was based on local styles evolved during the First Intermediate Period. Notwithstanding the fact that the Memphite school had some effects on this art, it remains evident that the impact of local tradition was stronger than any other factor. So, throughout the Middle Kingdom we have a variety of styles characteristic of the different provinces, yet clearly distinct from the Memphite tradition of the Old Kingdom. But we must hasten to point out that the difference was only in the technique and workmanship, not in the subject-matter. In fact the artists of the Middle Kingdom drew largely on the repertoire of the Old Kingdom. Naturally, they introduced some new subjects but these are rare[1]. They also embellished the conventional scenes of the Old Kingdom with more details, but that was about all[2].

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(1) Some of the new subjects introduced in the Middle Kingdom are spinning and weaving, examples are in P. E. Newberry, Beni Hasan, I, pl. XXIX and Beni Hasan, II, pls. IV, XIII, and also in the tomb of Daga at Thebes, see N. de G. Davies, Five Theban Tombs, London, 1913, p. 34 and pl. XXXVII. In the tomb of Antefoker at Thebes, Davies and A. H. Gardiner, The Tomb of Antefoker, London, 1920, pl. XVI, we find the first representation of an enthroned king in a private tomb. Finally in the tomb of Tehuti-hotep, Newberry, El-Bersheh, I, pl. X, we see the first scene of purification.

(2) For a comparative study of the Old and Middle Kingdom styles as well as the innovations introduced by the latter, see Smith, History, pp. 234 ff.

As the subject-matter was practically identical with that of the Old Kingdom, one does not expect to find events of specific nature; hence we miss the narrative scenes. Nonetheless, just as we found some rare exceptions to the general rule in the tombs of the Old Kingdom, so we meet such rare exceptions here also.

1. The War Scenes

In their recent excavations in western Thebes, the German Archaeological Institute cleared a tomb chapel (No. 386) not far from the famous tomb of Kheruef (No. 192). It belongs to the General Intef who lived under Neb-hepet-re Montu-hotep. On the square pillars of the portico at the west end of the sunken court are well-preserved paintings showing typical scenes of agricultural pursuits and handicrafts (pillars I-III, north and south sides). We also find a desert hunting scene (pillar VII, south side), scenes of wrestling and the tomb owner in the marshes (pillar VII, noth side), and the conventional scenes of harpooning and fowling and of offering-bearers (west side of the portico). Other, unique, scenes depict armed men rolling a siege-tower on wheels against the walls of a besieged fort (pillar II, west side) and others in boats attacking shore troops (pillar I, west side)[1].

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(1) With the kind permission of the field director I was allowed to see the tomb in December, 1964. References to the scenes are made in W. S. Smith, Interconnections, pp. 149 and 151. Reference and a reproduction of the armed men in a boat were made by Leclant, Orientalia 34 (1965), pp. 185-186 and pl. 30, fig. 9. For fuller information, see Arnold and Settgast, MDIK 20 (1965), pp. 47-61.

On pillar II, are war scenes in four registers, which divide into two groups. Firstly, the upper two registers are devoted to an attack on a fort (pls. 18-19), which occupies the whole height of the two registers[1]. Armed with axes, clubs, daggers, spears and shields and supported by Nubian archers, the Egyptian infantry march on the fortress. In front of them, other soldiers climb up a siege-tower on wheels in order to storm the fort. Meanwhile, they are opposed by the defenders (Asiatics) who are vainly fighting back with bows and arrows and toppling dramatically over the ramparts. It is noteworthy that, like the Montu-hotep example and the later Beni Hasan scenes, the fort is shown in elevation, not basically in plan as in the examples of the Old Kingdom.

Secondly, the three bottom registers are occupied by warriors, women and children fleeing away at the right, with Egyptian troops winning a hand-to-hand combat in the centre[2]. At the left, captives are led off, while the dominating figure of General Intef hastens to the fray with bow and arrows. This is the first known example of a non-royal military leader actually participating in the action. His dominating figure is inspired by the same treatment traditionally accorded to the figure of the king triumphing in scenes of warfare and hunting, from the Old Kingdom. It seems clear that Intef took an active part in the battle, although he is shown in this purely

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(1) Ibid., pp. 50-51 and Abb. 2.

(2) Following the written description of Arnold and Settgast, op.cit., p. 51.

conventional position.

Following Arnold and Settgast's description[1], pillar I shows three registers, each having a ship powered with oars in which soldiers stand ready to spring ashore or to board an enemy craft. Some carry shields and battle-axes, while others shoot arrows at a foe who is not depicted. In the upper register, the rowers each have his hair caught up in a tuft by a head-band, giving them a slightly curious appearance. Such a scene of river-warfare reminds one of the reference by the Herkleopolitan nomarchs of Assiut to fleets and to battles with the Thebans on the Nile[2].

It will not be possible to analyse the full significance of these war scenes until a full publication of the tomb is available. Yet, they fall into the same category as the corresponding war scenes from the nearby temple of Montu-hotep. Therefore it will be assumed that they illustrate one or more of the battles fought by that king, in which the General Intef took part. Moreover it is worth noticing the appearance, for the first time, of the siege-tower in the war scenes.

That the scene of besieging an Asiatic fort represents an actual event

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(1) Id.ib., p. 51.

(2) Breasted, Ancient Records, I, §§ 396 (Tefibi), 401 (khety I), and 411 (Khety II).

may be supported by the evidence for just such an undertaking in Montu-hotep's reign supplied by the graffiti inscribed at Abisko by Tjehamaw[1]. He was a Nubian soldier who boasts of playing a decisive part in a battle of Montu-hotep against the Asiatics of D3ty, an unknown place. Furthermore, the scene of river warfare is the first representation of this kind so far known since the Gebel el-Arak knife-handle. And as noted above, the river scene can be paralleled in topic by the inscriptional allusions to similar conflicts by the Herakleopolitan nomarchs.

Four of the tombs of Beni Hasan contain war scenes; these are the tombs of Baqt III (No. 15)[2], Khety (No. 17)[3], Khnum-hotep (No. 14)[4] and Amenemhat (No. 2)[5]. In all four tombs the scenes occupy the lower part of the east wall of the main chamber, while the upper parts are occupied

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(1) See G. Posener, Archiv Orientální 20 (1952), pp. 163-166.

(2) Newberry, Beni Hasan, II, pl. V.

(3) Ibid., pl. XV; note that Schenkel, op.cit., p. 83, would date tomb No. 17 between No. 14 (under Amenemhat I) and No. 2 (under Senusert I). However, the painting in this tomb is so mutilated that the besieged fortress has entirely disappeared, and so have the wrestlers.

(4) Newberry, Beni Hasan, I, pl. XLVII.

(5) Ibid., pls. XIV, XVI

by several registers of wrestlers[1] (pls.20-21). Generally speaking, the scenes in the four tombs are almost identical[2]. On the left hand side there is always the besieged fortress. As we mentioned above, contrary to Old Kingdom usage, the fortress is represented in elevation only, not in ground plan and elevation. It has either one or two entrances. The defenders are seen shooting arrows from the top of the fortress. The attackers are arranged in two rows. They hold shields and shoot arrows. On the right is a covered battering-ram with two or three soldiers swinging the ram[3] and trying to mine the wall of the fortress. Meanwhile, hand-to-hand combat goes on between the two camps. The soldiers are armed with shields, bows and arrows and battle-axes. Heaps of corpses are seen on the right while auxiliaries bring supplies of arrows for their soldiers.

It is noticeable that, with the exception of the presence of some

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(1) The bottom register in tomb No. 2 is occupied by the scene of the Abydos pilgrimage ships.

(2) Even to the dog at the extreme left of these scenes in all three cases preserved!

(3) Y. Yadin, The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands, London, 1963, notes that the Beni Hasan illustrations are the earliest attested examples of this weapon, p. 70 and illustration pp. 158-159.

foreigners (Libyans) who do not take part in the fight[1], the two hostile camps are Egyptians. Since the earliest scenes belong to the tomb of Baqt, and since we do not have any explanatory inscriptions, there is more than one possible explanation for the meaning of these scenes. First, that they may show events of the war between the South and the North in the middle years of Dynasty XI, and so correspond to the events depicted in the temple of Montu-hotep at Deir el-Bahari and the scenes in the newly discovered tomb of Intef (No. 386). Then they were repeated in the other three tombs. Thus, if the scenes in the tomb of Baqt do represent a specific event, the others would be mere repetition. But such an interpretation depends on the correctness of Newberry's reasoning that would put tomb 15 this early[2]. Second, the scenes in tomb 15 may instead reflect the internal conflicts under Amenemhat I apparently mentioned by Kay son of Nehri of the Hare Nome[3]. This date for the tomb of Baqt, early Twelfth Dynasty, is argued by Schenkel[4] on the same class of criteria employed to date Kay's

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(1) In tombs No. 2 and No. 14, Newberry, op.cit., I, pls. XVI, XLVII.

(2) Beni Hasan, I, pp. 2-3.

(3) Cf. supra, pp. 109-110 and Anthes, Hatnub, Graffito 16, 9.

(4) Op.cit., pp. 78-84, especially p. 81, 2); 82, h); 83, i) 1).

inscription[1]. Third, it is possible that each of the scenes shows different battles, perhaps just local conflicts, between the nomarchs of the Oryx Nome and other nomes, and the artists, who belonged to the same school, depicted them almost identically.

Naturally it will be difficult to decide which explanation is likely to be the right one. Nevertheless, one may notice the strong impression of localism in these scenes. The representations of the battles are void of any dramatic situations. The movement and gestures of the fighters only rarely show the vigour that was evident in the war scenes of the Old Kingdom and even of Montu-hotep at Deir el-Bahari. In fact, the fighters at Beni Hasan are seen almost as if they are playing; - as if the events they are performing are a mere extension of the play of the wrestlers in the registers above.

2. The Visit of the Asiatics[2]

Among the various registers that occupy the north wall of the main chamber of the tomb of Khnum-hotep (No. 3) at Beni Hasan, is a register which shows a unique event. It records the visit of some Syrians (ʿAmu)

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(1) Supra, p. 109 footnote 1.

(2) Newberry, Beni Hasan, I, pls. XXX-XXXI.

(pl. 22A)

to the nomarch. Here we see eight men with their peculiar hair styles and goatee beards, four women and three children, all of whom wear woollen dresses. They are headed by their "ruler of foreign lands, Ibsha"[1] who is bowing in a gesture of respect while grasping an ibex. The man behind him aglso brings an ibex. He is followed by other four men holding bows and arrows, a donkey carrying gifts and two children, another boy walking and four women. The latter are followed by another loaded donkey, two men, one carrying a lyre and the other holding a bow in one hand and a battle-axe in the other. The scene is entitled, "Arrival (and) bringing msdmt (kohl) which the 37 ʿAmu brought to him (Khnum-hotep)". The guests are led in by an official called Khety and introduced to their host by the royal scribe Nefer-hotep. The latter is bolding a roll of papyrus on which is written "Year 6 under the majesty of Horus, the guide of the Two Lands, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Senusert (II), the number of Amu brought to the son of the count Khnum-hotep on account of the msdmt, (namely)

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(1) West Semitic Abi-shar, using the same rules of orthography as the Execration Texts and Byblos inscriptions. See W. Helck, Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Verderasien, Wiesbaden, 1962, pp. 88-89; Albright, JPOS, 8 (1928), p. 255, footnote 1, and Albright, The Vocalisation of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography, New Haven, 1934, p. 8, and finally see Helck, op.cit., p. 46.

ᶜAmu of Shut[1], number amounting to 37"[2].

The coming of foreigners to Egypt was recorded previously in the Solar temple of Sahu-re and the causeway of Unas. But this is the first time that such an event is recorded in a private tomb. However, we have here a definite group of people who have come to the nomarch Khnum-hotep. There is no doubt that this depicts a particular event. The facts that it occurs among typical scenes of daily life does not impair its specific nature, hence it is a narrative scene.

3. The Transport of a Colossus

In many tombs from the Old and Middle Kingdoms, there are scenes showing the dragging of the statues of the deceased to his tomb[3]. The transport was accompanied by certain ceremonies such as pouring water and burning incense. These scenes commonly formed part of the general

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(1) W. Semitic Shutu in Moab, see Albright, in BASOR 83 (1941), p. 34, footnote 8, and also Albright, in JBL 64 (1944), p. 220, footnote 89.

(2) Newberry, Beni Hasan, I, pl. XXXVIII, 2.

(3) Cf. L. Epron and others, Le Tombeau de Ti, I, pls. LII-LV; Newberry, Beni Hasan, I, pls. XIII, XXIX; and II, pls. VII and XVII; see also Duell, Mereruka, I, pls. 29-30.

theme of decoration in each tomb; therefore it corresponded completely to the typical scenes of daily life. This is wholly different from the present scene of transporting a statue in the tomb of Tehuti-hotep at El-Bersheh[1]. Despite the fact that this scene is found on the upper half of a wall otherwise occupied by typical scenes of daily life, it is evident that we have here a unique scene depicting a single event (pl. 23).

The scene is depicted on the upper half of the right hand wall of the Inner Chamber. Holding a long staff in one hand, and a hrp-sceptre in the other, Tehuti-hotep is seen proceeding from the left. He wears a loincloth, a long tunic and a light cape over his shoulders. Behind him are four rows of his sons and attendants. They are all following a huge statue described in the long text as 13 cubits of the stone of Hat-nub[2]. The colossus, which is presumed to belong to the deceased himself[3], is placed upright on a wooden sledge dragged by four parallel lines of men. On its knees stands an overseer who is clapping his hands to mark time, while on its base stands another man pouring water[4]. A third man censing is

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(1) P. E. Newberry, El Bersheh, I, pp. 17-26 and pls. XII-XVI.

(2) Ibid., p. 18.

(3) Ibid., p. 24.

(4) Possibly ceremonially, but Vercoutter, in Kush 13 (1965), pp. 68-69, suggests that this was to wet silt to move the statue easily, quoting parallels from Karnak, Mirgissa and Corinth.

seen on a separate base-line in front of the statue. Behind the colossus are four rows of men one of whom is said to be "He who undertook the work of this statue, the scribe Sipa son of Hen-nakhty-ankh"[1]. Below the statue are three men carrying jars of water, three others carrying a great baulk of wood, and three overseers, each one holding a long stick. In the top row, over the four lines of the dragging men, seven groups of men, partially damaged, are advancing to greet the arrival of the statue.

The destination of the whole procession is depicted at the right end. The facade of a building is shown, presumably either the chapel of Tehuti-hotep or his tomb. On its upper part is a seated figure of the deceased, while in the centre is another standing figure of his. In front of the building are the remains of scenes showing the sacrifice of oxen, and offering bearers.

Unlike the other scenes of dragging statues in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, the Tehuti-hotep scene was not meant to depict a typical event. Taken as a whole, the scene is so dominating and impressive that its uniqueness is immediately convincing. Besides, the specific nature of the event is clinched by the concrete details given by the several inscriptions which accompany the scene. When we come down to the details, we will

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(1) Newberry, op.cit., pl. XV.

see that recognisable characters such as Tehuti-hotep, his sons, attendants and the people who worked on the project, are present and take an actual part in the proceedings. The procession is "moving" towards a particular destination, the chapel or tomb; that is to say towards a particular point in space. This limits the event to a particular place, which in turn provides the element of time. In other words, the event is confined within particular limits of space and time; therefore its momentary, transitory, nature is maintained. Nevertheless, although the relief shows that the statue was being dragged to a tomb or chapel at El-Bersheh and although the accompanying text makes it clear that the statue originated in Hatnub, in typical Egyptian manner no characteristic details of setting or background are given and there is no indication of the precise point on the route between Hatnub and El-Bersheh in which the action depicted is supposed to take place; we are left to guess whether we are witnessing the moment of arrival at the chapel or some unspecified spot on the way. It will be noticed, moreover, that the way in which the dragging men are drawn is purely conventional. They do not show any sign of strain or fatigue in spite of the great effort they must have expended to pull so great a statue. In fact they look as if they are not pulling at all. This reduced the effect of realism in the scene as a whole, yet it does not affect the ultimate fact that we have here a specific rendition of a specific event.

PART TWO

THE NEW KINGDOM AND LATER

CHAPTER V

THE FIRST HALF OF DYNASTY XVIII

(Ahmose-Amenhotep III)

The reign of queen Sobekneferu, which did not last for more than four years[1], marked the end of Dynasty XII as well as the end of the Middle Kingdom as a whole. With the advent of Dynasty XIII Egypt entered the so-called Second Intermediate Period which comprised Dynasties XIII-XVII and which lasted for over two centuries (c. 1786-1551[2]).

According to Manetho, Dynasty XIII originated in Diospolis (Thebes)[3]. The majority of its kings, however, followed the example of their predecessors, kings of Dynasty XII, and ruled from the north where they had their Residence in Ithet-tawi. The dynasty seems to have lasted overall for not less than 150 years (in fact from c. 1786-1633 BC)[4]. It also had not less

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(1) W. Hayes, CAH^2, vol. II, Chap. II, p. 4.

(2) E. Hornung, Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Geschichte des Neuen Reiches, 1964, pp. 5-6 (Dynasty XII); and p. 108 (Dynasty XVIII) with his paper in ZDMG, forthcoming.

(3) A. H. Gardiner, Egypt of the Pharaohs, p. 147.

(4) Hayes, op.cit., p. 5.

than sixty kings. The earlier kings, down to at least the family of Nefer-hotep, ruled a unified Egypt much as the kings of Dynasty XII. Their relations with Western Asia and Nubia were still maintained[1]. But this state of affairs did not continue, and soon their power went into a steady decline and the country fell into a state of disunity, perhaps comparable with the First Intermediate Period[2].

Contemporaneous with the rule of the XIIIth Dynasty, there existed another house of local princes who ruled independently in Xois , modern Sakha in the Central Delta. These are the kings of the Manethonian Dynasty XIV which seems to have outlived Dynasty XIII by about 30 years[3].

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(1) T. Säve-Söderbergh, JEA 37 (1951), p. 54; a massive but broken relief of Neferhotep I and his vassal prince Yantin, was found at Byblos, (see P. Montet, Kemi I (1928), pp. 90 ff. and fig. 8, and Hayes, op.cit., p. 10.

(2) While fully aware that the Second Intermediate Period is commonly viewed almost as an epilogue to the Middle Kingdom proper, yet one must observe that the Hyksos interlude ultimately gave a new turn to Egyptian history and culture by involving Egypt more closely with her neighbours than ever before. Hence, this period is in many ways a fitting prelude to the New Kingdom and to understanding its eventual innovations.

(3) Hayes, op.cit., pp. 14-15.

In Western Asia, meanwhile, there was general unrest due to the arrival of ethnic movements which brought new elements to the region such as the Kassites and Hurrians[1]. This was accompanied by political and social disturbances in Syria-Palestine. As a result of these conditions, hordes of Asiatics, mainly Semites, infiltrated into Egypt. Their infiltration was certainly made easy by the slackness of the central government. However, they established themselves in the Eastern Delta, particularly in a place that came to be known as Hat-waret (Avaris), modern Qantir[2], about ten miles to the south of Tanis. There they worshipped the local divinity of the region, Seth, in an Asiatic form much closer to Baal or Resheph than to his Egyptian form. Soon some of their chieftains rose to power and were known to the Egyptians as Hekaw-Khasut, a general term which means 'the rulers of the foreign lands'. This term, modified by linguistic change, was reproduced by Manetho as 'Hyksos' and was applied to all the intruders.

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(1) Säve-Söderbergh, op.cit., pp. 54-55. On the Hurrians, cf. the studies by E. A. Speiser, "Ethnic Movements in the Near East", AASOR 13 (1933), pp. 13-54; and in Journal of World History I (1953), pp. 311-327.

(2) L. Habachi, ASAE 52 (1954), pp. 444 and 559, and his forthcoming study. Also J. van Seters, The Hyksos, Yale, 1966, pp. 127-151.

About the year 1720 BC is commonly given as the approximate date of the Hyksos establishment in Egypt[1]. Henceforth, they began to consolidate their position in the country under the leadership of shadowy local princes who may constitute the Manethonian Dynasty XVI[2]. The peak of their power really begins sometime about 1650 BC[3] when one of their kings, Salitis according to Manetho, captured Memphis and the XIIIth Dyn. Residence at Ithet-tawy. He established the XVth Dynasty which had six kings in all who ruled, according to the Turin Canon, for 108 years[4]. Four of these six kings seem to have ruled over all Egypt as far as Lower Nubia[5].

As the XIIIth Dynasty presided at Thebes even after the Hyksos had taken over Memphis and the Residence, it seems evident that they must have expelled by force the former line of kings. The scale of fighting involved is not known from any contemporary record, but Manetho pictures the take-

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(1) Hayes, op.cit., p. 13.

(2) This seems to be the only place to put this Dynasty, if it ever existed; see Gardiner, Egypt of the Pharaohs, pp. 171-172.

(3) J. von Beckerath, Untersuchungen zur Politischen Geschichte der zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten, Glückstadt, 1965, p. 223.

(4) Gardiner, op.cit., p. 159, and Hayes, op.cit., p. 19.

(5) Säve-Söderbergh, op.cit., p. 55, and Hayes, op.cit., p. 20.

over as a rapid and destructive conquest: "They, then, burned our cities ruthlessly, razed to the ground the temples of the gods, and treated all the natives with a cruel hostility, massacring some and leading into captivity the wives and children of the others". Latterly, much doubt has been thrown on his version, as being simply the last stage in the growth in an anti-Hyksos legend, result of the humiliation felt by the Egyptians from Kamose onwards at Hyksos, i.e. foreign, rule. But it is worth remarking firstly, that Manetho doubtless had access to source-material, besides just popular tradition, now lost to us; and secondly, that some conflict must be postulated with Egyptian resistance to the Hyksos take-over.

In the meantime, soon after the collapse of the Egyptian XIII th Dynasty in Thebes, there arose a new family of local princes which was compelled to become a vassal of the foreign intruders. However, the last three princes of this family, Seqenenre and his two sons Kamose and Ahmose, were destined to carry out a war of liberation against the Hyksos and to inaugurate a new and great era in Egyptian history.

The story of the war of liberation was recorded in a number of

documents, i.e. the Sallier Papyrus[1], the Carnarvon Tablet[2], on two stelae erected by Kamose[3] and in the biography of Ahmose son of Abana at El-Kab[4]. It begins with a provocative message from the Asiatic king Apophis Auserre in the Delta to Seqenenre in Thebes. The accusation against the latter was that the hippopotami in his pool disturbed the sleep of Apophis by day and night[5]. Although in the preserved part of the Papyrus we see Seqenenre trying to appease the foreign king, it seems that the war soon flared up between the two camps. Seqenenre succeeded,

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(1) Known as the "Story of Apophis and Seqenenre", see B. Gunn and A. H. Gardiner, JEA 5 (1918), pp. 40-42, and G. Lefebvre, Romans et Contes égyptiens de l'époque Pharaonique, Paris, 1949, pp. 131-136.

(2) This wooden tablet was discovered by the Earl of Carnarvon during his excavations in Thebes in 1908, see Gardiner, JEA 3 (1916), pp. 95 ff. and JEA 5, pp. 45-52.

(3) Two fragments of the first stela were found by Chevrier in 1932 and 1935 at Karnak, see P. Lacau, ASAE 39, pp. 245 ff. The second stela was found, also at Karnak, by Dr. Hammad and L. Habachi. It soon was realised that it continues the text of the first stela and both of them are identical with the Carnarvon Tablet, see L. Habachi, ASAE 53 (1956), pp. 198 ff. and M. Hammad, Chronique d'Égypte 30 (1955), pp. 198-208.

(4) This biographical text is inscribed on the tomb of the naval officer Ahmose son of Abana in his tomb at El-Kab. Translated by Gunn and Gardiner in JEA 5, pp. 48 ff., cf. Breasted, Ancient Records, II, §§4-16, 38-39 & 78-82.

(5) Gardiner, JEA 5, p. 41.

apparently, in pushing the Hyksos influence as far back as Cusae, to the north of Assiut. But unfortunately he was killed in one of the battles[1]. Kamose, his eldest son, took over and resumed the war. He first eliminated a certain Teti son of Pepi, a vassal of the foreign ruler who made his city Nefrusi[2] "a nest for the Asiatics"[3]. Then in a series of battles he proceeded northwards until he reached Avaris itself. His sudden death prevented him from achieving final victory. This was left to his younger brother Ahmose who captured the city and drove the Hyksos out of Egypt. To secure his victories he captured Sharuhen, modern Tell Farah in southern Palestine, after a siege of three years[4]. He then marched to the south and recaptured Lower Nubia as far as the Second Cataract. Thus began the XVIII th Dynasty and a new era in Egyptian history, namely the New Kingdom.

Ahmose's determination to capture Sharuhen, even if it took him three years, was a highly significant incident. Throughout the Old and Middle

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(1) As the body of Seqenenre shows five terrible wounds on the head and neck, and as it is evident that he fought against the Hyksos, it is surely not unreasonable to suggest that he was actually killed in a battle.

(2) A town a few miles to the north of El-Ashmunein in Middle Egypt.

(3) Kamose Stela I, line 14, Lacau; ASAE 39, p. 260.

(4) This is the reading of Gunn and Gardiner, JEA 5, p. 49 and note 9.

Kingdoms, Egypt had no ambition for any political expansion abroad. Apart from the raids carried out in the North-east and in the South to restore order and to secure the trade-routes, there had been no intention of acquiring territory. In point of fact, Egypt had not felt the need for this. She had always had a sense of security and self-sufficiency, ensconced within her natural boundaries; deserts to the East and West were a formidable hindrance to any serious invasion. Even the troubles caused by the Asiatics who infiltrated during the First Intermediate Period had no perceptible effect upon that feeling. But with the New Kingdom all this was changed. The Hyksos kings were the first foreign rulers to govern Egypt, to the humiliation of her national pride. Looking at the Egyptian literature, whether contemporary or from later times, one finds that the Egyptians felt very strongly about this dark age. Thus,when the Hyksos came from the North-east, through the desert barrier, the old feelings of self-sufficiency and security were consequently lost forever. The Egyptians came to the conviction that, to protect Egypt effectively, a first line of defence had to be set well to the North, i.e. in Syria.[1] This and a satisfying feeling of national pride were the real factors behind the new policy

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(1) This is an underlying fact in the strategy of Egypt right from the New Kingdom even down to Napoleon whose failure to occupy Syria in 1799 cost him Egypt.

epitomised by the Egyptians as "extending the boundaries", that is imperial expansion.

The series of military conquests began in the reign of Ahmose himself who raided Djahi, a term applied to Palestine and Syria, in the last years of his reign[1]. From the reign of his son Amenhotep I, we have no recorded evidence of any campaign in Asia; yet there is a tendency among scholars to consider that he gained some territory in that direction[2]. Thutmose I, however, was the first Pharaoh known to have penetrated as far as Naharin, the territory of the kingdom of Mitanni across the Euphrates, and to have set up a commemorative stela there marking the boundaries of a vast empire[3]. His son Thutmose II conducted a campaign in Syria on which he was accompanied by Ahmose-pen-nekhbet[4]. Hatshepsut was too preoccupied by internal

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(1) This campaign is referred to in the biography of Ahmose-pen-nekhbet in his tomb at El-Kab, see Breasted, Ancient Records, II, § 20.

(2) Ét. Drioton and J. Vandier, L'Égypte, Clio, 1962, p. 397, cf. also T.G.H. James, CAH^{2}, vol. II, chapter VIII, p. 23.

(3) No trace of this stela has been found so far, but it was mentioned by Thutmose III in his Annals, cf. Breasted, Ancient Records, II, § 478, and Gardiner, Egypt of the Pharaohs, pp. 178-179.

(4) The campaign was recorded on a fragment from the Deir el-Bahari Temple, see Breasted, Ancient Records, II, § 125 and note c and ibid., §§ 123-124.

problems and trade relations with Africa to send an expedition into Syria. Her nephew Thutmose III, however, proved to be the greatest of the Egyptian conquerors since he conducted not less than seventeen successful campaigns in that direction[1]. In the first, which began in his second year of independent reign, he smashed a coalition of not less than 330 princes who gathered in Megiddo under the leadership of the prince of Qadesh-on-Orontes. In his fifth campaign he conquered, or reconquered, Djahi, while in the sixth he captured Qadesh itself. In the eighth he penetrated into Mitanni and went as far as his redoubtable grandfather Thutmose I had done. In his final campaign, he recaptured Qadesh.

His son and successor Amenhotep II proved to be worthy of his great father. He consolidated his position in Asia, apparently in three campaigns[2], in the third, seventh and ninth years of his reign. From now until the reign of Amenhotep III, this region of Western Asia remained an established Egyptian territory and Egyptian influence there was no longer seriously

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(1) Drioton-Vandier, op.cit., pp. 398 ff., Gardiner, op.cit., pp. 189 ff., and Breasted, op.cit., II, §§ 391 ff.

(2) These campaigns were recorded on a stela at Amada (year 3), and on two stelae, an undated fragmentary one from Karnak and a dated and complete one found at Memphis. See Drioton-Vandier, op.cit., 406-407, 633; Gardiner, op.cit., pp. 199 ff., cf. also E. Edel, ZDPV 69 (1953), pp. 97-176, and ibid., 70 (1954), p. 87. Translations are in Breasted, op.cit., II, §§ 781 ff. and by Wilson in ANET, pp. 245-248.

challenged. The apogee of that magnificent period was reached in the reign of Amenhotep III who reaped what his great forefathers had sowed.

As a result of this great expansion Egypt could no longer afford the isolationism which she had followed before. Instead, with the political, social and cultural barriers between Egypt and her neighbours now broken down, she became an 'international' power. Now, the Egyptians were in close contact with the neighbouring peoples and civilisations which were by no means inferior to theirs. The treasures of the countries which came to Egypt as spoils of war, booty or as gifts from allied kings and rulers included the products and crafts of their countries which must have impressed the Egyptian artist and craftsman. Moreover, the number of foreigners who were brought to Egypt as captives or who came freely into Egypt, for trade, etc., under the aegis of the Pax Aegyptiaca, increased year by year. They must have brought with them the culture, and religious and social conceptions of their countries. All these factors must have played, in due course, a notable part in the Egyptian way of life and must have influenced art, religious ideas, language and literature.

Nevertheless, even taking all these new factors into account, we must not automatically infer that a revolutionary change was about to burst upon Egypt. Rather, we must remember that the Egyptians by that time had an established society and way of life which was almost two thousand years old.

The Egyptians, being conservative by nature, would not venture upon sudden and revolutionary transformations. Instead, when they took to a new idea, they simply put it beside an old one without discarding the latter. Further, we must also bear in mind that the peoples with whom they were in contact were in the position of conquered nations. Hence, at least from the Egyptian point of view, they were inferior to themselves; thus to accept foreign modes and ideas did not come easily at first, as the Egyptians initially felt little need for them.

To sum up, we must not expect to see great and sudden changes in the Egyptian way of life. But the changes came only gradually and the new ideas did not by any means supplant older ones. With these facts clearly in mind we may now proceed to investigate the aspects of narrative in the art of the first half of Dynasty XVIII.

A. The Royal Reliefs

Owing to its important strategic position as the nearest major city to Asia, Memphis retained its role as the most important city in Egypt. Nonethe less, Thebes was more or less the official capital of the empire in which the king and his court resided. This was due to many reasons; it was the home-city of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Dynasties whose kings were the liberators of Egypt and builders of her empire. It was also the residence of the great god Amen-re who became the lord of the empire as a whole. Hence,

Thebes housed his temples, which were built on the Eastern bank of the river. On the Western bank the kings excavated their tombs and built their funerary temples. This certainly was the golden age of "Thebes of the hundred gates".

Comparing the royal reliefs of the Old and Middle Kingdoms with those of the first half of Dynasty XVIII, we are in a much better position with regard to the latter. Yet, it is regrettable that most of the temples which once belonged to this great period have either disappeared or been badly destroyed. Thus, of the funerary temples the Deir el-Bahari temple of queen Hatshepsut is the only one that is still preserved in good condition[1]. The remains of the cult chambers which the same queen built at Karnak are also preserved[2]. From the time of Thutmose III we have his Festival Temple (called Akhmenu)at Karnak[3], while from the reign of Amenhotep III we have his temple at Luxor[4].

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(1) The whole temple is published by Ed. Naville, The Great Temple of Deir el Bahari, in six volumes, London, 1895-1908, and Introductory Memoir, 1894.

(2) P. Barguet, Le temple d'Amon-re à Karnak, Le Caire, 1962, pp. 141 ff.

(3) Ibid., pp. 157 ff.

(4) Al. Gayet, Le temple de Louxor in Mem.Miss.Fra. XV (Ier Fasc.), Paris, 1894.

Looking at the reliefs of these temples, one is immediately struck by an important observation, that is the entire absence of war-scenes. This may be disappointing since this is the most eventful period of Egyptian history in its wars and military conquests. These wars, however, beginning from the wars of liberation waged against the Hyksos to the great conquests of Thutmose III and his son Amenhotep II were all recorded in literary form on papyri, stelae, in the form of biographies in private tombs or in the form of annals. But none of these wars was recorded in a pictorial form. In fact, almost the only war scene that belongs to this period is that on the chariot of Thutmose IV[1]. Beside the fact that it comes from a rather late point in this period, it is a schematic and conventional scene suitable for decorating the war chariot and it does not have any historical or narrative significance at all[2]. Perhaps more important are the fragments

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(1) H. Carter and P. E. Newberry, The Tomb of Thutmose IV, London, 1904 pls. X.XII, pp. 24 ff; cf. Wreszinski, Atlas, II, pls. 1-3.

(2) The result of a successful campaign is shown in a relief on the inner (northern) face of the east wing of the pylon of the temple of Armant. Although the pylon was built in the time of Thutmose III, the style of the reliefs is evidently that of Dynasty XIX. Thus, the fragmentary war scenes should belong to that period. See R. Mond and O. H. Myers, and others, Temples of Armant, Plates, pl. IX, and Text, pp. 15 and 25-28.

which come from the funerary temple of Thutmose II at Medinet Habu[1]. They show the remains of a battle in Asia against Asiatic chariotry. Unfortunately, the relief is so fragmentary that it is practically impossible to deduce any conclusion of value.

Is the absence of these war scenes due to coincidence, since we do not have reliefs from any of the funerary temples of the warrior kings? In my belief this is not the case, for although the absence of these scenes is disappointing it is not surprising. As was mentioned above, we should not expect a sudden change in the Egyptian way of life and least of all in art, especially in the subject-matter of temple decoration. Thus, the prevailing art-themes of the Old and Middle Kingdoms continued basically the same into the early New Kingdom. It is noticeable that at the height of these two previous periods no war scenes, as far as we know, were included in the subject-matter of the temple reliefs, apart from the conventional scenes of the king smashing the heads of his enemies. Consequently we should not necessarily expect war scenes in the early New Kingdom temples.

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(1) Published by B. Bruyère, Deir el-Medineh Année 1926, Sondage au temple funéraire de Thoutmose II, (1952), pp. 40-42, pls. 3-4; cf. also A. R. Schulman, "Some Observations on the Military Background of the Amarna Period", JARCE 3 (1964), p. 58.

We may notice, however, a new trend beginning to appear in some of the subject-matter of the temple reliefs, for which there are no previous parallels and which is due to the closer relations between Egypt and her neighbours. Thus, growing interest in the outside world is shown in the depiction of the characteristic details of the land of Punt in the Deir el-Bahari temple of queen Hatshepsut[1]. In the Akhmenu of Thutmose III at Karnak a complete room was devoted to the illustrations of the flora and fauna "which his majesty found in the country of Retenu"[2]. This interest also appears in the detailed description of the topography of the route of his first campaign to Syria in the Annals of the same king. Later in this chapter we will see how this interest in the wider world was reflected in the private tombs, resulting in introducing new subjects[3].

Our main source for narrative scenes, however, is the temple of queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. This being a funerary temple, basically concerned with the person of the queen herself, the opportunity arose of recording some of the specific events of her time as well as the cycle of her divine birth. Unfortunately the reliefs of this temple have

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(1) See infra, pp. 152 ff.

(2) Barguet, op.cit., p. 198; cf., Wreszinski, Atlas, II, pls. 26-32.

(3) See infra, pp. 187 ff.

suffered great damage from Hatshepsut's political enemy Thutmose III, Amun's religious enemy Akhenaten and modern robbers of antiquities in western Thebes.

1. The Transport of Two Obelisks

The scenes showing the transportation of two obelisks from the quarries of Aswan to Thebes are depicted on the southern section of the southern side of the First Colonnade of Deir el-Bahari[1]. They show the final stage of the transportation, that is the arrival at Thebes. The scenes are divided into three registers. To the left of the middle register we see a huge barge on board which rest the two obelisks base to base. They are secured to two sledges and shown in a manner typical of Egyptian conventions. The barge, which is steered by four rudders, is towed by three rows of nine boats per row. On board each rowing boat there are a pilot, officers, steersmen and soldiers as well as about thirty or thirty-two oarsmen. In front of each row is a leading boat on board which stand a pilot and an escort of three soldiers. The pilot on the boat of the bottom row is presumed to be

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(1) First published by A. Mariette, Deir el Bahari, Leipzig, 1877, pls. 11-12; for a fuller publication see Naville, Deir el Bahari, VI, pp. 2-6 and pls. CLIII-CLVI. The texts are translated and the scenes are described in Breasted, Ancient Records, II, §§ 322-366. See also R. Engelbach, The Problem of the Obelisks, London, 1923, pp. 61-64.

the chief captain since he gives the orders, "Landing in peace at 'Victorious Thebes', heaven is in festival, earth is in rejoicing; - [they] receive joy of heart (when) they behold this monument which [Makare] has established for her father [Amun]". The barge, furthermore, is escorted by three state boats shown on the left end of the bottom register. One of them has the throne of the queen on board. Religious ceremonies were performed on board the three boats. Finally, beside the barge is a little canoe which was probably the means of communication between the barge and the land or between the towing-boats.

On its arrival at Thebes, the fleet was met on shore by all the signs of festivity, depicted on the bottom register. This register is divided into three groups of men running towards each other and a scene of offerings and bull sacrifice. On the right are the "royal marines of the ship of the king" carrying standards, battle-axes and boughs of trees. They are met on the left by "the recruits of the South and North, the young men of Thebes, the youths of Khent-hen-nefer" who carry bows, battle-axes clubs and boughs of trees and who are led by a man blowing a bugle. Behind this group is a scene of offering and purifying them with incense and two men slaughtering an ox. To the left is a third group of men labelled as "the companions, the dignitaries, the officials (and) the soldiers of the whole land" carrying standards, boughs and battle-axes.

After this comes the scene showing the act of dedicating the two obelisks to Amen-re. The queen is standing on the left holding a mace and long staff. On the right stands Amen-re. Between them are the two obelisks of which four sides are depicted. The texts on the four sides are identical. They say "Queen Hatshepsut made (this) her work for her father Amen-re. She raised two obelisks of granite. Their pyramidions are of electrum" etc.

Hatshepsut erected at least four[1] obelisks in the Theban area, two between the Fourth and Fifth Pylons at Karnak, one of which is still in situ, and two outside the eastern girdle-wall of the temple of Amun at Karnak, only fragments of which still survive. As has been demonstrated by L. Habachi, the two obelisks whose transportation is depicted at Deir el-Bāhari are those erected outside the girdle-wall[2], and their erection was to celebrate the proclaiming of queen Hatshepsut as 'king' of Upper and Lower Egypt[3]. He also demonstrated that, according to a graffito at Aswan, these

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(1) Breasted, Ancient Records, II, §135, note c, quotes Wilkinson as having seen the bases of two further obelisks in front of Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahari, an interpretation which was denied by Naville, ZÄS, 37 (1899), p. 52

(2) JNES 16 (1957), pp. 88 ff.

(3) Ibid., p. 96.

two obelisks were cut and transported under the supervision of Senmut the famous chief minister of Hatshepsut[1]. Therefore, there is no doubt about the actuality of the event depicted.

When we come to the mode of rendition we will find that the artist has chosen the last stage of the voyage, that is the arrival at Thebes and the dedication of the obelisks to Amen-re. Many details of the first episode are shown, e.g. the barge, the towing-boats, the rowers, the pilots, etc. But the general impression of the whole scene is more conventional than specific. In addition, the conventional quality of the scene is enhanced by the rigid register-system and the absence of any indication of the locality in which the event is taking place. We know that the event here depicted and the people coming to receive the fleet are in Thebes, through an extrinsic medium, the texts, and not from the depiction itself. Then when it comes to the scene of dedication the typical nature of the whole representation is clearly evident. The result, then, is a specific event rendered in a more or less typical manner. It is noticeable, however, that the progress of the events is developing deliberately from south to north. This happens to coincide with real life, since the obelisks were moved from Aswan to Thebes. This orientation is deliberate and has its parallels in

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(1) Ibid., p. 95 and fig. 3.

the temple of Sahure[1] at Abusir and in the scenes of the Punt Expedition in the Middle Colonnade of the same temple[2].

2. The Naval Expedition to Punt

On the walls of the south side of the Middle Colonnade of the temple of Deir el-Bahari, queen Hatshepsut recorded both in picture and in writing, the most important and most interesting historical event that happened during her reign, that is the trade expedition to Punt[3]. The episodes of this event occupy the entire height of the south, west and north walls of the colonnade. The sequence of these episodes develops, generally speaking, from left to right, i.e. from south to north.

The first episode is depicted on the bottom register at the left end of the west wall. Here we see the arrival of five Egyptian cargo-ships

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(1) Supra, p. 73

(2) Infra, p. 159.

(3) Like all the reliefs in this temple, the Punt reliefs have suffered a great deal of damage at the hands of Hatshepsut's enemy Thutmose III and the heretic king Akhenaten as well as modern robbers. The reliefs, however, were first published by Mariette, Deir el Bahari, pls. 5-10, then published fully by Naville, Deir el Bahari, III, pp. 11-21 and pls. LXIX-LXXXVI; the scenes are briefly described and the texts are translated by Breasted, op.cit., II, §§252-295.

at the land of Punt, significantly placed on the south wall. The first two ships have already moored and have struck their sails while the others are still in full sail. A small boat, sent from the first ship, is tied to one of two trees on the Puntite shore. It is loaded with bags and jars probably containing food and drink. The text speaks of "Landing in peace at the land of Punt by the soldiers of the king according to the command of the lord of the gods, Amun".

A first formal interview between the Egyptian delegation and the Puntites was then held on shore. This interview is depicted on the bottom register of the south wall. The queen's envoy, Nehsy, stands on the right escorted by a small number of Egyptian soldiers carrying spears, battle-axes and shields. He presents the gifts which he has brought from Egypt and which comprise necklaces, rings of gold, a battle-axe and a dagger, to "the chief of Punt, Parehu". The latter is seen on the left making a gesture of awe followed by his enormous wife Iti, his two sons and daughter. Three other Puntites are seen leading a donkey "which carried his wife"[1].

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(1) The wife and children of Parehu are now lost but were reproduced by Mariette, op.cit., pl. 5. The three men driving the ass were also stolen after Mariette's publication, but have recently been recovered and are now in the Cairo Museum along with that of the wife. See N. B. Millet, JARCE I (1962), pp. 55-57 and pls. IV-V.

The texts accompanying the scene give a full description of the meeting.

A second formal meeting between the two sides was held, and the Puntites presented their gifts which the texts call 'tribute'. On the second register, on the right, a tent was pitched. In front of it stands Nehsy on his own, leaning on a staff. From the left approach Paṛehu, his wife, four men carrying gifts, and two men leading a donkey loaded with more gifts. Some of the gifts have already been presented to Nehsy. They include a heap of myrrh, gold rings and throw-sticks. According to the inscriptions, it seems that a banquet was held on this occasion in which the Puntites were presented with "bread, beer, wine, fruit and all good things of the land of Egypt, as has been ordered by the Court, life, prosperity and health".

The lower part of the wall is separated from the upper by a strip of water. The upper part is divided into four registers. Here, we see both the Egyptians and their hosts, the Puntites, busy cutting trees and carrying them to two of the boats, shown at the left end of the middle register of the adjoining west wall. These are already loaded with myrrh trees, timber, ivory, bags of myrrh, apes and other products of Punt, while men can be seen marching up the gangplanks, loading still more of the exotic products into the vessels.

Most interesting of all is the illustration of the landscape of Punt (pl.24), which acted as a background for the events that took place there and to which the entire south wall was dedicated. Here we see a village scattered among the trees. Its houses are erected on poles and are reached by ladders, evidently to secure the inhabitants against wild animals. Among the trees we see the fauna of this region, a giraffe, horned cattle, a rhinoceros confronting an ape carrying her young on her back, panthers, a dog guarding a hut, and birds nesting and fluttering among the trees. This gives us a clear picture of this coastal district with which the Egyptians always had the strongest links and which lay on the Somali coast of Africa near the straits of Bab-el-Mandab[1].

Coming back to our story, we find three boats out of the five depicted in full sail in the middle register. According to the explanatory text, they are said to have just arrived at Thebes carrying "that the like of which was not brought for other kings, being marvels of Punt".

The next episode shows the presentation of the gifts of the Southern countries, including Punt, to the queen. It is depicted at the left end of the top register on the west wall. The register is subdivided into two

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(1) All of the south wall was reconstructed by W. S. Smith, "The Land of Punt", JARCE I (1962), pp. 59-61.

rows which in turn are further divided on the right into four lines. There we see the "chiefs of Punt" on the lower two lines, "the chiefs of Irm" on the third line and the negro "chiefs of Nemyw" on the top one. They are all kneeling and paying homage to the queen who is not present in person but is represented by a huge cartouche instead. Behind the kneeling chiefs Egyptians and Puntites approach with myrrh trees, ebony, horned cattle and other products of Punt.

The nature of the following episodes is a mixture of symbolic and factual acts. Each one of them fills the whole height of the wall. On the left we see the queen standing wearing the Atef-crown and followed by her ka. She raises a sceptre consecrating to Amen-re the products which were introduced to her in the previous episode. These products are arranged in two rows. In the bottom one are the products of Punt including electrum, eye-cosmetic, throw-sticks, ebony, ivory and shells as well as the horned cattle, grazing under themyrrh trees which are planted in the garden of Amun. In the top row are the products of the Southern countries including chests of electrum, panther-skins, bows, ebony, etc.

Related to this scene is the following one which shows the measuring and weighing of the products. It also is divided into two rows. In the bottom one are two huge heaps of myrrh one of which is measured by four men supervised by "the scribe and steward Djehuty" whose figure has been

carefully erased. Over the two heaps are seven myrrh-trees still in their baskets. On the right Thoth is seen standing and keeping the record. In the top row the weighing of the more precious products is undertaken in the presence of Horus, Dedwen, god of Nubia, and the goddess Seshat who keeps record.

An offering of the freshly imported myrrh was then made to Amen-re. This rite is here performed by Thutmose III who makes his first, and last, appearance in this series. He stands wearing the Khepresh-crown and holds two bowls full of myrrh. In front of him is the shrine of Amen-re which must have contained the image of the god. It is placed on a bark carried by thirty priests in six groups supervised by two Sem-priests. Twelve emblems stand between the king and the bark.

This is followed by the formal announcement to Amen-re of the success of the expedition. This act is performed by the queen herself. She stands at the extreme left wearing the Double-crown, holding a staff in one hand and a sign of life in the other. On the extreme right is Amen-re enthroned and holding a sceptre and a sign of life. Between them is a long text of 21 columns[1]. It speaks, amongst other things, of the oracle of

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(1) Translated in Breasted, Ancient Records, II, §§ 285-288.

Amun in accordance with which the expedition had been made.

Then comes, on the north wall, the last scene of the story[1]. On the left, the queen, followed by her ka, is seated in a beautifully decorated pavilion reached by a flight of steps. Although her figure was badly erased, we still see that she was wearing an Atef-crown, holding a staff in one hand and a mace in the other. She is giving a speech from the throne declaring to her court the success of the expedition. The court is represented by three dignitaries, Nehsy the man who led the expedition, Senmut the chief minister and a third nobleman whose name is not mentioned. The long text of 22 columns which accompanies the scene describes the occasion and gives the speech of the queen[2].

Trade relations between Egypt and Punt were probably maintained from the very beginnings of Egyptian history. However, the first known evidence comes from the tomb of Seshat-hotep, a son of Khufu, at Giza. There we find a Puntite slave in the service of that prince[3]. An expedition to Punt in the time of Sahure brought back 80,000 measures of myrrh, [6,000] of electrum, etc.[4]. Another expedition under the leadership of

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(1) This scene is not published by Mariette.

(2) Breasted, op.cit., § 294.

(3) Ibid., II, § 247, and L.D., II, pl. 23.

(4) Breasted, op.cit., II, 161, 8.

a certain Bawerded in the time of Isesi brought back a dancing dwarf[1]. But in spite of the importance of such expeditions, none of them were recorded pictorially. Therefore, the pictorial record of the expedition of Hatshepsut is the first and a unique one for the land of Punt.

The pictorial rendering of a seagoing trade expedition was not a new subject for the artists of the New Kingdom. A trade expedition to Syria was depicted in the mortuary temple of Sahure at Abusir[2], and another one seems to have been depicted in the causeway of Unas at Saqqara[3]. One of the aspects that the Deir el-Bahari reliefs shared with those of Abusir is the way the scenes were set out on the walls according to a definite orientation with regard to the countries concerned. In Abusir, the scene of the departure to Syria was illustrated on the north wall while the scene of the return to Egypt was portrayed on the south wall. In Deir el-Bahari the scenes of Punt were set out on the south wall and the south end of the west wall while the episodes which took place in Egypt were depicted on the north side of the west wall as well as the north wall itself. Apart from that, the mode of rendition in the Abusir and Deir el-Bahari scenes is

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(1) Ibid., § 351.

(2) Supra, pp. 72 ff.

(3) Supra, p. 72, note 2.

strikingly different. In the Old Kingdom the artist chose only two moments, the departure and return, to record his event. He has not shown the actual event of the expedition, hence his representation was rather static. As for the New Kingdom rendition, the case is entirely different.

When we come to study the Deir el-Bahari record of the expedition, we are immediately struck by two different attitudes in rendition. Firstly, the scenes depicting the events that took place in the land of Punt, and which are recorded at the southern end. Secondly, the scenes depicted on the north section that are concerned with events which took place in Egypt itself, though related to the expedition.

The scenes on the left are depicted in a rather realistic manner. It is as if the artist felt that he was dealing with a land different from Egypt, hence he had a sense of freedom from the more rigid traditions of conventions. We may even notice a sense of humour that the artist did not hesitate to express when he showed the corpulent wife of the chief of Punt and showed a donkey, pointing out significantly that this was the donkey which had carried her. The persons involved, whether Egyptians or Puntites, are recognisable and play actual parts and definite roles in the different events. The detailed illustration of the land of Punt with its characteristic fauna and flora is indeed a tremendous achievement in reproducing a landscape in spite of the handicap of the Egyptian register

system. Moreover, the illustration of a specific place in which the events occurred provided the representation as a whole with an air of reality and confined the events within definite limits of time and space. The development of the episodes (when in registers always moving upwards) is clear and comprehensible. Although the texts play a considerable part in explaining the different incidents, the pictorial narrative is still quite independent. The general movement of the persons to the right cleverly connected the events on the south wall with those on the adjoining west wall. Hence, the complete unity of the whole representation was achieved.

When the artist came to represent the events which took place in Egypt his attitude suddenly changes, hence the mode of rendition is considerably different. Since he was dealing with the familiar revered persons, such as Hatshepsut, Thutmose III and the different deities, he had to render the occurrences in the time-honoured typical mode. The humourous, realistic and vivid spirit that possessed him in depicting the preceding events, is here completely absent. Therefore, the events are shown solemnly and more like rituals. This, of course, affects the ultimate impression given by the whole representation. Yet, the illustration of the expedition to Punt remains a venture by the Egyptian artist, and still strikes a chord in our imagination.

3. The Divine Birth of the King

Papyrus Westcar[1] is the earliest literary source that we know of which relates the divine birth of three royal children begotten by a god on a mortal woman. Although it is written as late as the end of the Hyksos epoch in Egypt[2], it records a tradition which was concerned with tales that seemingly belonged to the end of the Old Kingdom. From this papyrus we learn that Ruddedet was "the wife of a priest of Re, lord of Sakhebu"[3]. And when she "felt her pains and her giving birth was painful, the majesty of Re, lord of Sakhebu, said to Isis, Nephthys, Meskhenet, Heket and Khnum : 'Pray go that ye might deliver Ruddedet of the three children who are in her womb'"[4]. Then the papyrus goes on to tell how these divine midwives helped to deliver three children who eventually became the first three kings of Dynasty V.

A pictorial rendering of such a mythological event is not known either from the Old or Middle Kingdoms. This absence of pictorial

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(1) The Papyrus which once belonged to Miss Westcar was given to R. Lepsius and is now in Berlin Museum, see G. Lefebvre, Romans et contes, pp. 70-90.

(2) Ibid., p. 70.

(3) Lines 9, 9-9, 10.

(4) Lines 9, 22-9, 24, translations by Professor H. W. Fairman.

representations before the New Kingdom may be accidental, or may have other reasons[1]. It may be that the divine birth tradition was transmitted mainly in literary form (and as a folk-tale) in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, before it appears in art in Dynasty XVIII.

On the other hand we are inclined to agree with Brunner that the scenes were sketched on papyri kept in the "house of life", the forerunner of our libraries, from which the artists transferred the cycle to temple walls varying some minor details[2], hence the differences from one temple to another. Thus, there would be no question of assuming that the scenes in one temple were copied from another; rather both drew on older tradition and went to the same general source.

The story of the divine birth of queen Hatshepsut was recorded in

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(1) Cf. the discussion below, pp. 179 ff.

(2) H. Brunner, Die Geburt des Gottkönigs, Wiesbaden, 1964, p. 188.

the lower register[1] of the south, west and north walls of the northern section of the Middle Colonnade of her temple at Deir el-Bahari.[2] 𓊹 𓏏, parallel to the scenes of the Expedition of Punt. Unfortunately the scenes and inscriptions were hacked out by her political opponent Thutmose III and by the adherents of Akhenaten. Nevertheless, the sequence of the scenes is clear as they develop from left to right, i.e. from south to north.

Preserved in a relatively better condition are the scenes recording

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(1) The upper register is occupied by episodes of the ceremonies of coronation. It will be noticed that although the episodes of coronation are related to the birth cycle, they are not included in our study of narrative since they depict typical occurrences of the royal life and not a specific story. In fact they are ritual scenes of the same quality as the scenes of the sed-festival ceremonies. It seems that the Egyptian artist himself was aware of this fact, therefore, he showed the coronation episodes on a separate register in Deir el-Bahari, and on a completely separate wall, south, in Luxor temple. Cf. Brunner, op.cit., p.2.

(2) Naville, Deir el-Bahari, II, pp. 12-18, and pls. XLVI-LV; cf. also F. Weindler, Geburts-und Wochenbetts-Darstellungen auf Altägyptischen Tempel reliefs, München, 1915, pls. 3-12. The texts are translated and the scenes are briefly described by Breasted, Ancient Records, II, §§ 187-212.

the birth of Amenhotep III in the Birth Room in the temple of Luxor[1]. They are depicted on the west wall and occupy three registers. The scenes here move upwards; and develop from right to left in the bottom register, then from left to right in the upper two registers.

These two sources are our main concern in this chapter. However, for the sake of completion we have to add two other sources from relatively later periods. First, the two blocks[2] which were reused in the Ptolemaic period from the Remesseum in the Small Temple of Medinet Habu. They show the fourth scene of the cycle, namely the divine nuptials. Second, in the precinct of the temple of Mut at Karnak, there are remains of another temple (bottom register only) that belonged probably to the XXIst-XXIInd Dynasties or later. The divine birth cycle of the king, whose

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(1) First published by Gayet, Le temple de Louxor, pls. "LXII/LXXII" - "LXVII/LXVIII"; see also C. Campbell, The Miraculous Birth of King Amenhotep III, London, 1912, pp. 18-48, with plates. For the most recent publication, see Brunner, op.cit., pls. 1-15.

(2) The bigger block, reused upside down in the late period, was first noticed by Daressy while clearing out the temples of Medinet Habu. See Campbell, op.cit., pp. 48-49 with plate, cf. also Brunner, op.cit., pls. 16, and 24a. The second block is relatively smaller and was first noticed by Mr. K.A. Kitchen, who kindly made photographs available. Cf. for these and other fragments, G. A. Gaballa, "New Evidence on the Birth of Pharaoh", Orientalia 36 (1967), forthcoming.

identity we do not know, was recorded on two (?) registers on the north wall of the open court[1]. The remains of seven of these scenes are preserved of which only four are identified with the scenes in Deir el-Bahari and Luxor temples. The remains of a fifth scene seem to have no parallel in the earlier temples but are surely connected with the cycle and could be identified with a scene from the Roman Mammisi at Denderah. The episodes, however, are not depicted in a proper sequence such as we find in Deir el-Bahari and Luxor.

Other birth scenes are recorded in the mammisis of the later periods; best of all is the mammisi of Nekhtnebef (Nectanebo) of Dynasty XXX, at Denderah[2]. Some details to be derived from these late sources will prove useful for our purpose, but a full consideration of them would go beyond the scope of this study.

It will be understood that a detailed description of each occurrence of every scene here is out of the question, and can be obtained from the

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(1) See G. Nagel, Archiv Orientální 20 (1952), pp. 93-98, fig. 4 and pl. VI, fig. 3, Cf. also M. Pillet, ASAE 52 (1954), pp. 77 ff., figs. 1-7.

(2) Published by Fr. Daumas, Les mammisis de Dendera, Le Caire, 1959, pls. 2-4; by the same author see also, Les mammisis des temples égyptiens, Paris, 1958, pp. 388 ff.

publications already cited. Nevertheless, a general description will be necessary. The first two scenes in Deir el-Bahari and Luxor temples do not correspond. In the former we see a council of gods on the south wall[1]. On the right is a seated figure of Amen-re wearing his two-plumed crown and holding a sceptre and a sign of life. In front of him is the Osirian Ennead of twelve gods in two rows. This includes Osiris, Isis, Harsiese, Nephthys, Seth and Hathor in the upper row, and Montu, Atum, Shu, Tefnut, Geb and Nut in the lower one. As the inscriptions are hacked out, we are not sure of the purpose of this meeting. But probably we will not be very far out if we suggest that he gathered them to announce his intention of having Hatshepsut as his daughter, of his own flesh, by an earthly mother.

The first scene in Luxor temple is different. Here we see Amun standing on the right holding the sceptre and the sign of life and wearing his usual crown. On the left the goddess Hather is seen embracing queen Mutemwya. Brunner has pointed out rightly that the text and picture in this scene do not correspond. For while the texts speak of an intimate encounter between Amun and the queen, "face to face and nose to nose", we see the god standing in the back of the picture. Likewise, although Hathor

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(1) The council scene is also present in the mammisi of Nectanebo, cf. Daumas, op.cit., pls. III-IV, bottom register.

is depicted here, she is not mentioned in the text. Moreover, Amun says di.i n.k. employing the masculine pronoun though no male person is present. Again the purpose of this meeting cannot be definitely determined. Yet it seems that Hathor is informing the queen of the forthcoming honour and preparing and baeutifying her in order to meet her divine lover.

The next scene at Deir el-Bahari depicts a brief encounter between Amen-re and Thoth, who was not present at the council of gods. As will be seen, Thoth played a major role in this affair, therefore it is presumed that Amun is informing him of his decision which was delivered to the council of gods while Thoth in his speech mentions the queen, saying, "she is more beautiful than any other woman".

Once again this scene has no parallel at Luxor temple. Instead, the encounter takes place between Amen-re, standing on the right, and Thut-mose IV, father of Amenhotep III, standing on the left, whose upper part is now entirely lost. In a fine gesture of courtesy, it is presumed that Amen-re met Thutmose to tell him of his intention, particularly that he was going to assume the form of the king[1].

From now on the scenes in both temples, Deir el-Bahari and Luxor,

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(1) Neither the Deir el-Bahari nor the Luxor scenes have parallels in the mammisi of Nectanebo.

correspond to each other and run in complete parallel except, of course, in some minor details. Now Thoth is seen conducting Amen-re to the queen. In Deir el-Bahari he holds his hand, while in Luxor he holds a roll of papyrus. This is followed by the divine nuptials (pl. 25). Amun and the queen are seated facing each other[1], their legs are superimposed. Underneath them are two goddesses, Neith and Selket, seated on a couch and supporting their feet. The god offers the sign of life to the queen's nose with one hand while he holds her hand or gives her another sign of life with the other. The queen affectionately receives the touch of his hand and supports his elbow. A full description of this exalted intercourse is given in the poetic texts that are preserved. It mentions how Amun took the shape of her husband, how he found her sleeping in her palace and how she awoke at the smell of his divine odour. Then came the words spoken by Amun announcing the name of the future son (or daughter) whom he implanted in the queen's body.

After the god has done "all that he desired with her", he summons Khnum, the potter-god, and orders him to mould the child. He commands

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(1) In Deir el-Bahari the god and queen sit on a base-line resting on the heads of the two goddesses; in Luxor they sit on the hieroglyphic sign for heaven  while in Medinet Habu and the mammisi of Nectanebo they sit on a couch.

him to "go and make her (him) together with her (his) ka, from these limbs which are in me. Fashion her (him), better than all gods, ⌜shape for me⌝, this my daughter (son), whom I have begotten". Having received these instructions, Khnum sets out immediately to do his duty. He is depicted seated at a potter's wheel shaping two children who are standing on it (pl. 26). He is assisted by the frog-headed goddess Heket (in Deir el-Bahari and Denderah) or by Hathor (in Luxor) who extends the sign of life to the children[1]. While fashioning the children he remembers the instructions given to him by Amun. Meanwhile, a meeting has taken place between Thoth and the queen-mother, probably to announce to her titles worthy of a queen-mother.

Now that the time has come, the queen is led to the birth-place by Khnum and Heket (Hathor at Luxor) who hold her hands (pl. 27A). Heket looks back at the queen as if encouraging her, while the latter is wearing a beautiful smile on her face. The queen's swollen body is delicately portrayed. In Deir el-Bahari the procession is led by Amen-re himself who heads an Ennead of twelve deities in three registers (we have only the lower two, incomplete).

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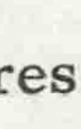
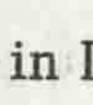
(1) It is noticeable at Deir el-Bahari that the two children are masculine although all the pronouns used in Khnum's speech are feminine.

The birth scene (pl.28) is the largest in the whole series and occupies a central part of the wall. One may deduce that, from the Egyptian standpoint, this scene was the most important one. However, the whole operation was carried out under the supervision of the goddess Meskhenet, goddess of birth[1]. She is seated on the right raising her hand as if directing the midwives. The scene in front of her is divided into three registers. In the top register the queen is seated on a chair holding the new-born baby. Behind her kneels a goddess with  sign on her head, followed by Nephthys, Isis and two other goddesses. In Luxor the queen is massaged by two nurses while another nurse is passing the baby to another. The four female figures behind the queen are unnamed. In the middle register, just under the queen, are two figures carrying the sign  on their heads and life signs in their hands. To the left are a man-headed figure and three crocodile-headed figures (in Luxor the last one is ram-headed while in Denderah they are falcon-headed). All of them are squatting and each one holds the sign of life. To the right are a crocodile-headed figure, two man-headed and one ram-headed figures. They are in exactly the same attitude as the others, and represent the spirits of the East and West. In the centre of the bottom register are the signs  in Deir el-Bahari and 

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(1) In Luxor the goddess seems to have disappeared, while in Denderah she is on a separate base-line at the left.

in Luxor, to the left of which are two falcon-headed figures (three in Luxor). Each one of them is raising one hand while resting the other on his chest. They represent the spirits of Pe and Nekhen, i.e. North and South. On the extreme right are the god Bes and the goddess Tauret.

After the child has been born, he (or she) was then taken by Hathor and introduced to his (her) father Amen-re who recognises him (her) as his true son (daughter). Hence in Deir el-Bahari Amun touches the baby and says "my daughter of my body, Makare, the sacred image, my first issue ...". Then in a following scene we see him holding and kissing the child. In Deir el-Bahari both Amun and Hathor are seated while Selket stands behind Amun; in Luxor Amun is seated and the child puts his hand around his divine father's neck (pl. 29). Hathor stands in front of him and behind her is Mut. The latter holds a palm-branch of years in her right hand, while her left supports the sign for anniversaries  hanging from the branch. From her left elbow hang symbols of "millions of anniversaries in life and strength".

Next comes the scene of suckling and nursing the child (pl. 30). In Deir el-Bahari the queen is seated on a couch and attended to by a nurse behind her. Two cow-headed Hathors are seated on the same couch in front of her. They are suckling the child and her ka. Under the couch are two cows, representing Hathor, suckling the same two children (both

have been hacked out). On the right are three rows of human-headed figures. In each row there are four figures. Each figure looks backward while holding a child. On their heads each one wears, alternately, a hmst or a ka-sign; the figures that are carrying ka-signs have false beards. The parallel scene in Luxor is almost identical, except that the two nurses in front of the queen are human-headed. Moreover, the figures of nurses, which are nine instead of twelve, carry hmst and  group instead of kas. The remains of this scene at Karnak are very few. It was rendered in a rather abbreviated manner. There we see the couch on which three female figures were seated, presumably the queen and two nurses.

So far no satisfactory explanation of the hmswt, kas and the group  has been given. But it may be noticed that the first two are connected ever since the Pyramid Texts[1]. From as early as the Memphite Theology, the kas and hmswt seem to be connected with sustenance, and it is at least conceivable that they embodied at one

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(1) Pyr. § 396 for example.

stage, qualities, dignities or functions connected with food[1]. As for the group hb it might imply abundance in food and products of nature particularly fowling and fishing[2].

Then comes the moment when the child is introduced to the Great Ennead of Karnak in order to be recognised as future king. Although the theme is the same in all the examples, we meet some variations from one temple to another. In the mammisi of Nectanebo, the scene was given the general title "Establishing the child in the presence of the Great Ennead in order to make him king of Egypt and ruler of the desert (dšrt)[3]. In all examples we see two deities, the foremost of whom is carrying the child and his ka[4] on his arms. In Deir el-Bahari the name

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(1) Cf. K. Sethe, Dramatische Texte, Untersuchungen, X, pp. 61-63, and H. Junker, Die Götterlehre von Memphis, (Abhandlungen der Preuss. Akad, der Wiss, 1939) No. 23, Berlin, 1940, p. 61. For a general study of the ka, however, see L. Greven, Der Ka, in Theologie und Königskult der Agypter des Alten Reiches, in Agyptologische Forschungen, Heft 17, Glückstadt, 1952, and Ursula Schweitzer, Das Wesen des Ka im Diesseits und Jenseits der Alten Ägypter, Agypt.Forsch., Heft 19, Glüschstadt, 1956.

(2) Brunner, op.cit., p. 133.

(3) Daumas, Les mammisis de Dendera, p. 11.

(4) In the Mammisi of Nectabebo it is only the child.

of this deity is not given. In Luxor, the Roman mammisi at Denderah and in Philae he is called Heka. The deity that follows him wears a  sign on his head[1]. It is supposed to have contained "milk which has come from your (the child's) mother"[2]. According to a text in front of him, "Purifying twice the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Iḥy, the venerable, in the milk which has come from his mother"[3], we may assume that the milk was used for this purpose. However, in Deir el-Bahari this deity is called Iat. The Great Ennead itself, to which the child is presented, is depicted in different ways. In Deir el-Bahari it is shown as three deities one above another. Therefore, it is a sign of plurality. In Luxor the Ennead is not represented at all. In Karnak, the lowest row is still preserved. It shows five deities of whom we recognise Hathor, Sobek and Thenent. The complete Ennead is preserved in the mammisi of Nectanebo at Denderah. They are arranged in three rows, each row contains five deities. They are: Montu, Atum, Shu, Tefnut and Geb in the upper row; Nut, Osiris, Isis, Horus and Nephthys in the middle row, and Hathor, [...], Thenent and Iunyt in the bottom row. In a general speech they say to the king, "Our heart(s) feel the greatest joy because Amun has received

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(1) In Luxor it is designated as Hapy, the Nile-god.

(2) Daumas, op.cit., p.12.

(3) Ibid., p. 11.

his son and has established him in order to reign over the Nine Bows. He makes to flourish for him his throne"[1].

The meaning of the next scene is not known. The two children are held between Amen-re and Thoth (Montu in Luxor). It is omitted from the Nectanebo cycle, while in Karnak the lower parts of the two deities facing each other are visible, and between them are two pairs of feet of two children. Is it that Amun entrusts the child and his ka to Thoth (or Montu) to take them for circumcision and the recording of their life-span? Or is it a heavenly declaration of the crown prince made by his father Amen-re? A definite answer is not possible (cf. pl. 31).

This obscure scene leads us, however, to the last scene in the (pl. 32) cycles of Deir el-Bahari and Luxor, which is recorded also in Karnak as well as the mammisi of Nectanebo. It depicts the determination of the life-span of the child by the goddess Seshat and the operation of circumcision. This operation took place in the presence of Khnum who stands holding a sceptre and Anubis who stands in the same attitude, or (as in Deir el-Bahari and Nectanebo) is shown trundling a sieve[2]. On the other

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(1) Daumas, op.cit., p. 12.

(2) The use of the sieve in birth ceremonies is still practised in modern Egypt; see Miss W. Blackman, The Fellahin of Upper Egypt, London, 1927, pp. 78-79 and 287.

side stands the goddess Seshat followed by a male deity. The goddess dips her pen in an ink-pot held by a female figure seated in front of her, in order to write the duration of life of the king. In the centre of the scene, two nurses squatting on the sign of heaven, are seen passing the two children to a male deity kneeling on the right. Underneath them the two children are standing attended to by two other nurses. In Karnak this same group is shown while a man is performing a circumcision operation for the foremost child. Hence it may be safely assumed that this group in all examples was concerned with the operation of circumcision. The difference is seen only in the way this operation has been rendered. For while the artists of Deir el-Bahari and Luxor just alluded to it, the later artist of Karnak showed it explicitly.

As mentioned above, there are three other scenes in Karnak which could not be identified with either those of Deir el-Bahari or those in Luxor. Of the first one we see just two pairs of feet, facing each other; of the second we see the feet and part of a leg of an enthroned deity in front of whom stand two male figures; only their legs are preserved. To the extreme left are the lower parts of six deities, two goddesses and four gods[1]. The first goddess on the left seems to have been suckling a child

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(1) Pillet, ASAE 52, p. 81, noted only two gods and three goddesses.

who rests on her lap. The first god behind her is holding another child who stands on the chair and whom he was probably kissing. One cannot be sure whether the other four deities were holding children or not, since no trace of any children survives owing to the extensive damage these scenes have suffered. But as we find that the first goddess and god are each holding a child, it is possible that the others did the same. However, it is not easy to determine the place of this scene in the sequence of the cycle for two reasons. Firstly, it has no parallel in the Deir el-Bahari, Luxor or Nectanebo series. Secondly, the sequence of the Karnak scenes seems not to correspond to the common order found in the two earlier examples. Yet, when we look in the upper register of the south wall of the sanctuary of the Roman mammisi at Denderah[1], we will find six deities enthroned. These are Hathor, Isis, Re-Harakhte, Osiris, Horus the Behditite and Harsomtus. Each deity is holding a child. While Hathor and Isis are suckling theirs, the other four male deities are just holding them. The analogy between this scene and that in Karnak is striking. Thus, since the Roman scene is placed after the classical scene of nursing, the order of the Karnak scene in the cycle will be put after the scene of nursing[2].

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(1) Daumas, Les mammisis de Dendera, pl. LIX.

(2) Cf. Orientalia 36 (1967), forthcoming.

As we mentioned before, the tradition of a king being begotten by the god on a mortal woman goes back as early as the Old Kingdom. It seems that it continued as a folk-story (although it may have started from the ruling class) throughout the ages until it was recorded in literary form during the Hyksos period or just before it. Whether it was recorded pictorially in the temples of the Old or Middle Kingdoms, is in fact a debatable point since we have no proof of this. But it seems to me that it went on without a pictorial record until the advent of the New Kingdom. With the New Kingdom a new phase in the life of this tradition began, that is recording it pictorially[1]. This in my opinion may be due to two factors. Firstly, the expansion of the wall surfaces in the temples of this period gave the artists and their masters the opportunity to depict new subjects. Secondly, the cycle would be used to support the claim of a king or a queen to the throne of Egypt. Thus, throughout the episodes of the cycle, Amun stresses the fact that this is his son, or daughter, who belongs to his body, and promises him, or her, the throne and crowns of Egypt; even before birth. That is to say that the assumption of kingship by such a king, or queen, was predestined by the gods themselves. It may not be a mere coincidence that the first known illustration

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(1) The possibility, however, that the myth was sketched on rolls of papyrus kept in the "house of life" would not come under this limitation.

of this myth belongs to queen Hatshepsut whose claim to rule Egypt as 'king' was open to considerable challenge.

On the other hand, the question of recording this myth is not a question of political propaganda. It is in fact a matter of using a well-known, and even accepted, tradition to confirm the right to the throne by all possible means. The pictorial representation is one of those means. The repetition of this cycle in later times is due to the fact that it became one of the established subjects of temple decoration; hence, it was depicted in Luxor, the Ramesseum, and Karnak. As for the mammisis, what could be more appropriate than a birth-cycle to decorate a birth temple?

In any case, when the artist transformed the myth into a pictorial story, the specific nature of the mythological narrative was not affected or reduced. The pictorial episodes run on one after the other giving the story from the very beginning until the king (or queen) was circumcised and his, or her, life-span was determined. It may be argued that "it was not an individual narrative"[1], since it was repeated from one temple to another in different periods. But it must be borne in mind that,

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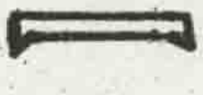
(1) Helene Kantor, AJA 61 (1957), p. 48.

although the myth was applied pictorially to different kings, its basic value as an independent story remained unaltered. Hence all the depicted events were practically identical, with the exception of small details which were left to the choice of the artist himself. The only things which were altered were in fact the names of the human actors, the king and the queen-mother, etc. In other words, they were different players acting the same play.

A comparison with a related subject may make our point clear. We noticed that the episodes of the coronation were illustrated in a consecutive order in Deir el-Bahari and Luxor, as well as in many other temples. Yet we did not consider them narrative, but placed them in one category with the sed-festival rituals which we have met from the beginning of the Pharaonic period. That is because, in my opinion, both series do not tell a specific story. On the contrary, they show a sequence of typical ritual acts which were performed during the coronation of the king. It is true that some of these rituals imply mythological or legendary events, but the purpose of their rendition was ritual, typical and not specific. This contrasts with the birth scenes which do not render a ritual sequence but a mythological story of the king or queen concerned.

Although the inscriptions play a large part in explaining the scenes, the pictorial rendering of the story is independent. This shows that the

role of the inscriptions in the pictorial narrative is subordinate. In fact sometimes the textual explanation of a scene could be misleading as we found in Scene I in Luxor where the inscriptions did not correspond to the picture. Similarly, the inscriptions and picture in scene IV, the divine nuptials, are not in parallel, for in his speech Amun is said to have assumed the form of the king while in the picture the form of the god has never changed.

Typical of the Egyptian conventions, however, is the omission of any indication of the places in which the events of the story are supposed to have taken place. With the exception of a vague indication of heaven, represented by a big hieroglyphic sign  in Deir el-Bahari, there is no other indication of place. Even when the texts speak of the palace where the god and queen meet, we see no indication of place. Moreover, the episodes of the cycle are separated from one other by the columns of texts which affects the unity of the representation. In fact the unity of the scene is sometimes affected by these columns which separate the persons involved from one another. Nevertheless, an overall unity of the whole series is maintained by two factors. First, they are represented on walls closely connected to each other. Second, the development of the events depicted runs easily and logically one after the other so that we follow them through without much effort.

It will be noticed also that although the events depicted develop step by step, it does not culminate in a dramatic climax. Unless we consider the scene of giving birth the climax of the myth, a role vaguely indicated by the artist through its larger scale and complexity, the successive episodes flow evenly on.

Furthermore, the gestures of the characters in these scenes are formal and rather rigid. This, however, should be expected owing to the solemnity of the occasion, the dignity of the characters involved, after all they are gods, and finally owing to the rules of the Egyptian conventions. Yet in just a few scenes one does not fail to see gestures that betray moments of inner emotion. The scene of the divine nuptials is rendered in a highly sophisticated manner, so that in spite of the delicacy of the subject, it is not marred by any clumsiness or vulgarity. Yet the artist never failed to portray graciously the inner emotion and hidden feelings between the couple. These were expressed in the gentle touch of the hands and the expressive position of the knees. The charming smile on the queen's face while she is being led to the birth place seems full of meaning. It betrays the veiled feelings of fear, hope and pride.

In conclusion, the artist in treating this subject achieved a noticeable measure of success in telling a consecutive story, even expressing some details with emotional moments. This success was achieved in spite of

the fact that the subject-matter is extremely formal and no setting is explicitly indicated pictorially.

B. The Private Tombs

The new military spirit which prevailed at the end of Dynasty XVII and in the first half of Dynasty XVIII had a tremendous impact on social life in Egypt. The large-scale wars that took place in Western Asia and Nubia created a new class of military leaders who shared in the battles and were promoted to high rank. And to indicate appreciation of their valour they were rewarded with gifts of gold, serfs and land[1].

On the other hand, the preoccupation of the king with his wars and the expansion of the empire added new responsibilities to his burdens, so that there was no other way to rule this empire except to form a competent administration to run all its affairs in war and peace. Thus emerged powerful administrators and civil servants who shared these burdens with the king. Therefore, the military leaders and the top administrators and civil servants constituted the ruling class which played a noteworthy role in running the affairs of the empire. In fact, besides being the age of

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(1) Examples are found in the biographies of Ahmose son of Abana and Ahmose-pen-nekhbet; see Breasted, Ancient Records, II, §§ 9-15 and §§ 22-24.

imperial expansion, this was also the epoch that gave private individuals opportunities of rising to positions of wide influence. One must hasten to add that although they shared some of the king's responsibilities they did not undermine the full authority of the all-powerful pharaohs.

Naturally, they had their tombs excavated in the western hills of Thebes near the royal tombs in the Valley of Kings. When possible, scenes in their tombs were executed in low-relief sculpture. But as the stone in the western hills happens mainly to be of the worst possible quality, low-relief was generally replaced by painting. Hitherto, the latter had been used as an accessory to low-relief, but from now on it was used independently. The Egyptian artists, proving themselves masters also of this technique, produced some of the finest examples in the history of painting.

As might be expected, most of the themes of decoration in this period are those typical scenes of daily life, funeral and religious rites which we have encountered previously in the Old and Middle Kingdoms. Some new variations were, however, added to some of these themes. The scene of the deceased in front of his offering-table was extended and became a sort of banquet in which the relations shared the pleasure of food and drink with the deceased. The measuring of the fields before reaping was added to the agricultural pursuits. The manufacturing of chariots was added to the scenes of arts and crafts. In the scenes of

hunting wild animals in the desert the chariot was occasionally used[1]. The funerary rituals including the procession to the tomb and the ceremonies of the opening of the mouth were all expanded. The presence of the king in his kiosk which was shown once only in the Twelfth Dynasty tomb of Antefoker became a prominent feature in the tombs of this period, connected, as we shall see, with the scenes of the official life of individuals.

Most important of all is the emergence of new themes which were not attested before in private tombs. These are the themes which show the official activities of the officials and nobles of this period. These new themes reflect two important characteristics of this period; first, the sense of individuality that the Egyptian dignitary had at this epoch

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(1) Two examples of the deceased using a chariot in his hunt are known in the tomb of User No. 21 (time of Thutmose I); cf. Porter and Moss, Bibliography, I, Private Tombs[2], p. 36, and N. de G. Davies, Five Theban Tombs, pls. XXII-XXIV, p. 23; and the tomb of Userhet No. 56 (time of Amenhotep II), see Wreszinski, Atlas, I, pls. 1 and 26a. The development of the style of representing the scene is remarkable and is extremely significant as will be pointed out later, see pp. 190f. Wolf, however, points out that the scenes of the hunt in the desert break off almost completely after the time of Thutmose III except for two or three scenes from the period following and one scene from a XXVIth Dynasty tomb. See W. Wolf, Die Kunst Ägyptens, Stuttgart, 1957, p. 484.

and which gave him a feeling of justifiable pride. Secondly, the new trend of the wider interest in the outside world, a trend which first showed itself in the depiction of the characteristic details of the land of Punt in the Deir el-Bahari temple.

The earliest phase of Dynasty XVIII, i.e. from the beginning until the reign of Thutmose III, witnessed the final stage in the development of the Middle Kingdom style which had evolved in Thebes as a result of the combination of the Upper Egyptian and Memphite schools in the Twelfth Dynasty. The same rigid conventions were still applied in rendering the individual figures as well as complex scenes. The gestures and poses are still stiff, formal and explicative. The scenes are composed of isolated figures related to each other through an extrinsic medium, e.g. common action. The masses of flat colour were applied in the same traditional way. This, however, should not be allowed to obscure the new and fresh breath of vigour, liveliness and the vitality perceptible in the art of this epoch, and which came as a result of the freshness and vigour of the dynasty itself.

During the time of Thutmose III, as the direct result of his remarkable display of military energy, the position of the newly established empire was more or less settled. In the last years of his reign as well as in the reigns of his immediate successors, a political, rather than

military, relationship between Egypt and her neighbours eventually developed. In this 'international' atmosphere, the Egyptian became more acquainted with the outside world of Western Asia and the Aegean. He came into close contact with their ways of life, manners of thinking and modes of artistic expression. This contact doubtless broadened the horizon of his thinking and stimulated his artistic instinct. Consequently, he began to look upon his traditional conventions through new eyes, and gradual changes started to enter the main stream of Egyptian style; we can even detect some new experiments without parallels from previous periods. It is the new spirit of the New Kingdom.

So far as the style is concerned, we notice that the sweeping line of the brush has become sensitive and flowing. The figures are depicted in smooth, curved lines. The faces are sophisticated and full of charm. The movements of the bodies are less rigid and the gestures are freer. In some cases the individual figures of a group were intrinsically and spatially related, so that they created a coherent composition[1].

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(1) See the three female musicians in the tomb of Nakht, Davies, Nakht, I, pls. XV-XVIb, and also the musicians in the tomb of Djeserkareseneb, Nina Davies and A. H. Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Paintings, I, pl. XXXVII. See also the scenes of hunting in the desert, below pp. 190-191.

The Egyptian artist now gained the mastery of various techniques of brushwork, whether broad sweeping strokes, or breaking up surfaces with a multitude of fine strokes of the brush to achieve a richness of detail. A greater wealth of colours now came into use, and in fresh combinations. This can be seen in the remarkably effective superimposition of yellowish-brown stains upon white garments, and of the white of the garments upon the brown flesh-colour, of guests in scenes of feasting, for example. The richness of detail appears in endless ways - dress, ornaments, furnishings, and so on. The very feathering of the birds and the hair of the animals similarly lends them a greater realism. 'One may even find examples of attempts at shading[1].

New artistic experiments in rendering the human figure were attempted. Thus, we have the well known example of the girl shown in three-quarter back view in the tomb of Rekhmire[2]. We also have the two musician girls in the British Museum, who are shown full-face[3]. In the tomb of Nebamun and Ipuki, the mourners are twice seen weeping

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(1) Nina Davies, op.cit., II, pl. LXX, and Nina Davies, Egyptian Tomb Paintings, London, 1958, pl. 9.

(2) Davies, Rekhmire, II, pl. LXIV.

(3) Nina Davies, Anc. Eg. Paintings, II, pl. LXX.

with their mouths realistically shown open to express their grief[1].

In addition, new details were added to mark the different settings of the scenes, and acted as 'landscape'. Hence, we find houses and gardens with ponds in many tombs[2]. In some cases, the ground-lines were omitted, or were replaced by sinuous strips of earth[3].

Most of the innovations were in fact concentrated in the hunting scenes which show a tremendous amount of variety. The sense of free motion is shown with full vitality in the violent poses and wild movements of the animals. Although the contours of the hilly desert in which the hunt had taken place are portrayed, the animals' feet are not tied to them or to base-lines. In fact, the use of base-lines was here virtually abandoned. Thus, the animals moved and leaped freely so that in some of their violent leaps we see the flying gallop, a motif thought to be of

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(1) Ibid., pls. LXIII-LXIV.

(2) Examples will be found in Nina Davies, Paintings from the Tomb of Rekhmire, pls. XVI, XX, Davies, Puyemre, I, pl. XXI, H. Boussac, Le tombeau d'Anna, Mem. Miss. Fra., tome XVIII, pl. [XI], and Wreszinski, Atlas, I, pls. 48a, 66.

(3) Davies, Nakht, pls. XVIII-XXI, and another example in the tomb of Khaemhet No. 57, see Atlas, pl. 9.

Aegean origin[1]. In their movement, the animals are depicted running in different directions, marking the great confusion inherent in such an incident. Most significant from our point of view is the hunting scene in the tomb of Userhet No. 56[2]. On the left is Userhet in his chariot which is drawn by two galloping horses. He shoots arrows at great masses of animals depicted in panic on the right. This treatment was to be repeated in the hunt and war scenes on the casket of Tutankhamun[3]. In fact, this is the forerunner of the great war scenes of the kings of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties. In this respect we must in passing also mention the much-discussed hunting scene in the tomb of Kenamun No. 93[4]. The artist there endeavoured to render the topographical surroundings of the scene in a striking and unique experiment[5].

Whether these innovations are due to a foreign, particularly Aegean, influence is still a debatable matter which needs a thorough investigation which would go far beyond the terms of reference of this work. To my

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(1) Helene Kantor, The Aegean and the Ancient Near East, Bloomington, Indiana, 1947, pp. 62 ff. But for Egyptian antecedents, see Smith, History, p. 305, n.1.

(2) Wreszinski, Atlas, I, pl. 26a.

(3) Nina Davies, Anc.Eg. Paintings, II, pls. LXXVII-LXXVIII.

(4) Ibid., I, pls. XXX-XXXI.

(5) Mrs. Frankfort, Arrest and Movement, pp. 89-90.

mind, however, they are the logical development of previous Egyptian attempts on the one hand and a product of the fresh spirit of the New Kingdom on the other. As mentioned above, the Egyptian artist became acquainted with the styles and arts of other civilisations. He did not copy, but rather looked on his own inherited methods with new eyes. So, the influence here was more an indirect than a direct one. It is, in fact, a stimulus rather than an influence.

In almost all the tombs of the first half of the XVIIIth Dynasty the background of the paintings was bluish-grey, Subsequently, greyish-white backgrounds became more usual[1]. The only exception is the tomb of Kenamun where the background is golden-yellow.

Before going any further, it may prove useful to give a typical example of an XVIIIth Dynasty tomb and the disposition of its scenes[2]. A typical tomb consisted of an open court, a cross hall, a long passage and a shrine. The shaft giving access to the burial chamber was cut either in the open court or in the shrine. The open court had no decoration. On the right and left sides of the entrance to the hall are two

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(1) Nina Davies, Anc. Eg. Paintings, III, p. XL, and Wolf, op.cit., p. 479.

(2) Davies, Nakht, I, pp. 30-31, fig. 4; cf. also Wolf, op.cit., pp. 480-481.

figures of the deceased adoring the sun. The hall is decorated with scenes of worldly life such as agriculture, banquets, life in the marshes including fishing and fowling, receiving the tribute of the foreign countries and other official activities of the tomb owner. As the long passage is located further to the west, scenes of funerary and religious nature were depicted here, such as the funeral procession to the tomb, the pilgrimage to Abydos and other holy cities and the rites of the opening of the mouth, etc. In the shrine were depicted figures of the deceased worshipping gods of the dead. There is also a niche which contained his statues and the statues of his family. In many cases the whole of the shrine was replaced by statues of the deceased and his family. It will be understood that this is only a general example which has many exceptions in both layout and in the location of the different subjects.

1. Scenes of Promotions in the Careers of Officials

One of the new subjects which were introduced in the XVIIIth Dynasty and which is related to the official life of the private individual, is the rendering of his promotion to higher rank. The earliest example known to us is the promotion of Amenuser who was co-opted to the post of vizier alongside his father Amethu. It occupies the north side of the

east wall in the hall of the tomb of Amenuser No. 131[1].

The event is related in two episodes. On the right Thutmose III is seen wearing the Atef-crown, holding his regalia and enthroned in the royal baldachin. Behind him is a human figure representing his ka. In front of him stands the aged vizier Amethu accompanied by a chamberlain, two courtiers and Amenuser himself who still holds the title "Scribe of the treasury of the god in the temple of Amun". Above is a long text relating a dialogue between the courtiers and the king. They point out that the present vizier has become old and can no longer carry the burdens of his position alone. Then they mention that "his son whose name is User is a scribe in the temple of Amun", and accordingly the king appoints him as a deputy for his father.

The second episode, depicted on the left, shows a procession to the temple of Karnak (?) in order to ratify the newly appointed vizier, a ceremony in which the king seems to have taken part. He is seen carried in a palanquin by eight men and accompanied by two men carrying feather-fans,

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(1) We still await a full publication by Säve-Söderbergh, Private Tombs at Thebes, II. The information here comes from the preliminary reports and partial repreoductions by Davies in BMMA 21 (1926), pt. II, March, pp. 48-50, and December, pp. 3 ff. and figs. 2-3, 5.

an ♀ sign as a fan-bearer, a standard-bearer and an official. The rest of the procession in front of him is divided into two rows. In the bottom one we see Amenuser wearing a long robe, holding a long staff and assuming his new titles as a vizier for the first time. He is preceded by four men carrying festal branches, six armed soldiers, three men clapping, a drummer and four men beating resonant sticks. In the upper row are a man censing, another pouring a libation, twenty soldiers marching in double file, three men with long staves, another three men with throw-sticks, a drummer and an officer. The destination of the whole procession was the temple of Karnak (?) where the ceremonies of ratification were to take place. Hence, on the extreme left we see two pylons on a high plinth joined by a gateway, and two flagstaffs on both sides.

Rekhmire, Amenuser's nephew, was also promoted by Thutmose III to the position of a vizier, presumably in his uncle's stead. So, it was recorded in both word and in picture on the north half of the south side of the west wall in the hall of his tomb (No. 100)[1]. On the right, Thutmose III is seen in exactly the same attitude, place and manner as

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(1) See Davies, The Tomb of Rekhmire, I, pp. 15-17, and II, pls. XIII-XVI, cf. also Davies, Paintings from the Tomb of Rekhmire at Thebes, pl. XII.

in the tomb of Amenuser. Even his human-figured ka is present. He gives an audience to Rekhmire who stands in front of him and whose figure has been completely erased. Above is the speech of the king which he delivered on this occasion mentioning the ethical duties of the vizier[1]. After the audience was finished, and Rekhmire has become officially vizier, he is seen leaving. He carries a long staff and is guarded by six men who precede him. The text over their heads says, "The mayor of the city and vizier, Rekhmire, coming from the court, life, prosperity and health (where) he had received the favours of the lord of the palace and has been made responsible for the execution of the affairs of Egypt ...", etc. The scene of the visit to the temple which we met in Amenuser is omitted here.

A third promotion, made this time by Thutmose IV, was recorded on the south side of the west wall of the hall of the tomb of Nebamun (No. 90)[2]. So far Nebamun had only been a bearer of the standard of the royal ship, but now he is promoted to the position of the chief of the military police. The promotion was conferred on him by Thutmose IV who was seated in a baldachin and whose figure is entirely lost. In the royal audience

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(1) The text is translated in Davies, Rekhmire, I, pp. 84-88; cf. also Breasted, Ancient Records, II, §§665-670.

(2) Davies, The Tombs of Two Officials, London, 1923, pp. 34-37, and pls. XXVI-XXVII.

Nebamun is seen raising his hands in a gesture of adoration. The actual reception of the insignia and the warrant of the new office was depicted in another episode, further to the left. Here we see Nebamun standing to the left receiving the Gazelle-standard of the police of Western Thebes and the warrant of his appointment, contained in a little tube, from the royal scribe Iuny who stands on the right. Above is the explanatory text in which the king says, "Now my majesty, life, prosperity and health, has commanded to confer office on him (Nebamun) as chief of police on the west of the City ..." .

The rest of the wall is occupied by three registers of military police of which Nebamun has become the commander. At the top are seven ensign-bearers carrying standards. Behind them are six soldiers and a trumpeter. In the middle register we see two senior officers (one of them is called Tere) prostrating themselves and kissing the ground. Behind them is a number of soldiers headed by a standard-bearer. They are armed with bows and move to the right. In the third register is another body of soldiers armed variously with spears, shields and bows. They move to the left. It seems that the soldiers were putting on a parade on the occasion of the appointment of their new chief.

In a sub-scene, shown in a line running under the whole representation, we see the servants of Nebamun bringing in return gifts to the king, including an ox, a gazelle, a hare, vegetables, bread, flowers and two

jars. On the right are the attendants of the king.

Finally, the appointment of Amenhotep-si-se as a Second Prophet of Amun was illustrated in two scenes on the west side of the south wall of the hall of his tomb (No. 75)[1]. The first scene which must have showed Thutmose IV enthroned in a baldachin, conferring the new post on Amenhotep, is entirely lost. All that is left are the remains of two feet (of Amenhotep?) and the remains of the text from which we know that he "was appointed Second Prophet".

The second scene, like the one in the tomb of Amenuser, deals with the procession towards Karnak (?) where the new Second Prophet was acknowledged. On the left Amehotep was depicted walking to the right preceded by an official, both carrying long staffs; both are badly mutilated. In front of them proceed four men, one of whom holds a papyrus bud. They were met and greeted by Amenhotep's wife Roy, his daughters Mutnofret, Henettawy and Thoy as well as another three women. Each one of them holds a sistrum and a menat. The rest of the procession consists of three files of men carrying papyrus buds and bunches of ears of corn, proceeding in three lines. An avenue of trees

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(1) Davies, op.cit., pp. 8-10, and pls. XIII-XIV.

leads to the temple itself whose facade is represented: we see two pylons joined by a gateway; each pylon has a flagstaff and a colossus of the king shown in side-view.

In these four cases it is clear that each tomb-owner considered his promotion to a higher rank an important event in his career, hence it was recorded both in word and picture. There is no doubt that each representation illustrates one memorable event which actually happened in the official life of each one of them. Thus, it is not a typical occurrence concerned with his duties which he performed regularly in his official capacity. In other words, the representation does not indicate a continuing aspect of the job of the official to show his importance, but it illustrates a special incident in his official career. The actuality of the event, at any rate, is enhanced by the specific identity of the persons involved; e.g. the king (though inactive), the person concerned and the other dignitaries and relations. Furthermore, in two cases, namely Amenuser and Amenhotep-si-se, the second episode portrays a procession moving towards the temple. This indicates pictorially that the second episode at least is tied to a certain place. It may be argued that the representation of the temple here is rather generalised and does not specify a particular one. Yet, since these were definite events which actually took place, and since the ceremonies of ratifying

the appointment to higher office occurred in a certain temple or temples, the artists intended in each case to show a particular temple although we cannot now recognise it with certainty.

2. The Reception of Foreign Tribute

Another sign of the feeling of self-importance of private individuals is the appearance of the new theme showing the deceased in his official capacity either receiving the foreign tribute or introducing it to the king. On the other hand, the presence of these scenes which begin with a rather damaged example in the tomb of Senmût (No. 71)[1] from the time of Hatshepsut, reflects the great interest in the outer world which we observed in the Punt reliefs. This new theme, however, was represented in two different ways. First, the deceased himself received the tribute. A relatively complete example is to be found in the tomb of Rekhmire[2] where we find him standing "Receiving the tribute of the Southern land along with the tribute of Punt, the tribute of Retenu-land and the tribute of Keftiu-land, together with the captives of the various lands". The tribute-bearers are shown in four registers and the captives in a fifth. In the topmost register are the Puntites. In the second are "the

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(1) M. Müller, Egyptological Researches, I, Washington, 1906, pp. 16-18, and pls. 5-7; cf. also Wreszinski, Atlas, I, pl. 236.

(2) Davies, Rekhmire, I, pp. 17 ff., and II, pls. XVII-XXIII; see also Paintings, pl. XXII.

chiefs of the Keftiu-land (and) the Islands which are within the Great Sea". The Nubians are shown on the third register while the Syrians are in the fourth. The captives and hostages occupy the bottom register. Each people brings the products of its country, and each race is given its ethnic features and wears national costumes.

In other tombs, the king is represented enthroned in a kiosk while the deceased stands in front of him introducing the foreign peoples who bring their tribute. Examples will be found in the tombs of Menkheperre-sonb, No. 86[1], Amenmose No. 89[2], Amenemhab No. 85[3], Puyemre No. 39[4] and many other tombs. In the tomb of Kenamun No. 162[5] we see the boats which brought the Syrian tribute-bearers as well as Syrian merchants.

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(1) Davies, The Tombs of Menkheperresonb, Amenmose, and Another, London, 1933, pls. III-VII.

(2) Davies, JEA 26 (1940), pp. 134-136, and pls. XIII-XIV; cf. Wreszinski, Atlas, I, pl. 285.

(3) Ph. Virey, Sept tombeaux thébains, Mem. Miss. Fra., tome V, Paris 1891, pp. 237 ff., fig. 3 and 3 plates; cf. also Davies, JEA 20 (1934), pp. 189-192, pl. XXV.

(4) Davies, Puyemre, I, pls. XXX-XXXVI, and pp. 79-92.

(5) Davies and Faulkner, JEA 33 (1947), pp. 40 ff., pl. VIII, ; cf. also Nina Davies, Scenes from some Theban Tombs, Oxford, 1963, pl. XV.

There is no doubt that the representation of these foreign peoples and their products and crafts is a mine of information for the study of the civilisations which existed in Western Asia, the Aegean and in Africa at that time. But in spite of the novelty of the subject the scenes in the different tombs cannot be considered narrative. They are typical scenes giving general statements of the permanent functions of the deceased. They do not reflect an isolated, specific event which happened but once or twice in the lifetime of a given official. In fact they are of the same nature and quality as the other typical scenes of daily life which we have met before and which we still find in those tombs.

This general rule concerning the scenes of the reception of foreign tribute cannot be applied to a unique scene in the tomb of Amenmose No. 42[1]. This scene was shown in four registers on the north half of the west wall of the hall. Unfortunately, it has suffered extensive damage, so that out of the four registers we have only the upper two; but what remains is enough to show us the specific nature of the incident depicted. On the left stood Amenmose whose figure is completely lost. He receives the tribute of the timbered region called Negau (in Lebanon)[2]. Two chiefs

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(1) Davies, Menkheperrasonb, etc., pp. 30-31, pl. XXXVI; cf. Wreszinski, Atlas, I, pl. 168.

(2) See references in Helcks Beziehungen, 1962, pp. 21-22; 76 n. 9; 277 with refs 395.

of this district are present. One of them is prostrate; over his head is the legend, "Chief of Lebanon". The second chief brings a huge decorated vase. He is followed by a servant carrying precious stones and a cloth. Another servant brings a jar and two oxen. Most important is the setting against which this group, indeed the whole scene, is depicted. On the right is the fortified residence which must have belonged to the Lebanese chieftain and from which they have emerged with their tribute. It is built in a forest of pine trees, shown with their tall, slender trunks. Amenmose, however, was accompanied by an escort of soldiers armed with spears, shields and battle-axes, and other officials of whom two scribes are still preserved; all of them are shown on a lower register.

Although this scene is related to the typical tribute scene on the north wall of the same hall[1], the artist emphasised its different nature by placing it on a separate wall. For, whereas in the typical tribute scene, we find the deceased performing the regular tasks of his ordinary life, here we find the deceased acting on a special occasion in a definite place. It seems that in one of his campaigns, Thutmose III delegated Amenmose to collect the tribute of Negau in particular. However, the depiction of the setting of the incident and the presence of the chiefs of Lebanon all provide the event with a breath of reality, hence the

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(1) Davies, op.cit., pp. 28-30, pls. XXXIII-XXXV.

representation is taken as narrative.

3. An Encounter with a Hyena[1]

The painting of an encounter between Amenemhab and a female hyena is a unique scene in the history of Egyptian pictorial art (pl. 33). It shows the deceased wearing a light dress, holding a spear in one hand, and a club in the other, with which he is about to strike a hyena. The hyena herself, said to have just borne her young[2], is facing up to her attacker in a bold and alert manner. The incident took place in a desert area characterised by its scattered plants. Although the scanty remains of the inscriptions do not provide any information about the locality, it is noticeable that these plants are similar to some of those in the botanical room in the Festival Hall of Thutmose III at Karnak. This may give a clue to the locality as being in Syria[3].

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(1) Shown over the doorway, between the two central pillars, in the tomb of Amenemhab No. 85 at Thebes; cf. Virey, op.cit., pl. III, and Nina Davies, JEA 26 (1940), p. 82, pl. XVIb.

(2) Wreszinski, Atlas, I, pl. 21.

(3) In his biography Amenemhab relates an encounter with an elephant during an elephant hunt in Niy in Syria, Breasted, Ancient Records, II, § 588.

This scene, however, strikes us with its absolute originality both in subject-matter and in mode of rendition. The dramatic tension between the hunter and the victim is clearly shown by the charging movement of Amenemhab and the desperate counter-charge by the hyena. Although the feet of the two protagonists are fixed to a base-line, the rendering of the scattered plants independently of a base-line gives depth to the picture and provides the representation with a sense of space. Hence, the incident is not depicted in a void, and the setting is not abstract or symbolic, but it is real. Thus, there is no doubt in my mind that this is a narrative scene in the full sense of the word.

4. A Syrian Patient Consults the Physician Nebamun[1]

Pl. 22B

The visit paid by a wealthy Syrian (whose name is not given) to the physician Nebamun is another unique incident in the tombs of this period. It is depicted on the right (north) back wall of the hall (pl. 22B). On the left we see Nebamun seated at an offering-table holding a sceptre in one hand and a long staff in the other. Facing him is his brother Sheni who offers flowers. The scene behind the latter is divided into two registers.

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(1) Tomb No. 17, cf. Säve-Söderbergh, Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs, pp. 25-27, pl. XXIII, and Wreszinski, Atlas, I, pl. 115.

In the lower one the Syrian patient is seated while supported very closely by his wife standing behind him and wearing a typical Syrian dress. In front of him is a servant[1] of Nebamun who offers a drink (of wine?) to him, but he seems to refuse it. Behind his wife are two of his servants bringing gifts as a payment for Nebamun. The first one carries an ingot of copper on his shoulder and holds a vase in his hand. The second brings a wine jar and a slave girl. More gifts are brought by another three men on the top register including wine jars and pottery vases. They are accompanied by four slave girls, two of whom also carry vases.

In a sub-scene, which is extremely damaged, we see on the left a Syrian craft under full sail. It may be presumed that it is the ship which brought the patient to Egypt. On the right are two carts, each drawn by a pair of oxen. It has been suggested that these were the carts which brought him from his house to the ship, although it is possible that they were further gifts for Nebamun.

The repute of Egyptian physicians in Western Asia seems to have been very high indeed. In the Amarna age, for example, Niqmad II, king

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(1) Wreszinski, ibid., takes him to be Nebamun himself introducing a medical draught to the patient.

of Ugarit, asks for an Egyptian doctor[1]. Ramesses II in a cuneiform letter mentions an Egyptian physician serving in the Hittite lands of Anatolia[2]. Hence, it is no surprise to find a pictorial rendition of this kind, especially in the tomb of a physician.

The recognisable character of the patient (though not named), his wife, the gifts he brought with him and the means of his journey, all are signs pointing to the actuality of the event. As for the mode of rendition, the event is depicted in a typical Egyptian manner. The group of Nebamun, the offering-table and his brother, is a typical scene found in the earliest periods. Moreover, the towering figure of Sheni separates this part of the scene from the rest of it on the right. This reduces the general effect of the representation as well as the unity of the scene as a whole. Although the presence of the boat and carts may support the actuality of the event, it does not add much to the actuality of the rendition. Their presence implies the event of the journey but does not depict it. It is thus a static presence. All these factors, together with the lack of any indication of a

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(1) J. A. Knudtzon, Die El Amarna-Tafeln, Leipzig, 1915, p. 316 ff., and S. A. B. Mercer, The Tell El-Amarna Tablets, I, Toronto, 1939, pp. 220 ff.; cf. also W. F. Albright, BASOR 95, (1944), p. 33.

(2) Translation by A. Goetze, JCS I (1947), p. 248; cf. Albright, AASOR 17 (1938), p. 77, note 38.

place, might at first make one hesitate to accept it as a narrative scene. But the prime consideration that would speak in favour of this scene being 'narrative' is the unique nature of the subject-matter, as this could hardly be drawn from anything other than real life.

CHAPTER VI

THE AMARNA PERIOD AND END OF DYNASTY XVIII

I. The Amarna Period

The Amarna[1] period occupies a relatively short time in the life of the XVIIIth Dynasty. It comprises chiefly the reign of Amenhotep IV (later known as Akhenaten) of about seventeen years, the reign of Smenkhkare, about a year alone (?), and the first four years of Tutankhamun. In spite of that, it has proved to be one of the most important and interesting periods in the history of Ancient Egypt. It is hard to find any other period which has been so thoroughly studied and about which so many books and articles have been written. Yet the subject is far from exhausted and many aspects of this extraordinary epoch are still debatable.

The Amarna period is characterised by a religious movement, sometimes called revolution, which aimed at introducing a form of solar monotheism, focussed on the sun-disk Aten, of a kind which Egypt had not

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(1) The term Amarna, or Tell el-Amarna, is a wrong combination of the names of the modern village El-Till and of the tribe of Beni Amran. Half way between Cairo and Luxor, this was the site chosen by Akhenaten to build his new city dedicated to Aten and which he called Akhetaten.

previously known. It is also marked by a violent and abrupt break in the artistic style which defied most of the established conventions of Egyptian art.

One of the debatable points is the real motive behind this movement. Some scholars maintain the opinion that it was a religious one. Hence, they see in it an attempt to reform the religious ideas and find new ones free from the old tradition. Others contend that it was a move prompted by the new role of Egypt which she now played as an international power. Therefore she had to find an international god, instead of her local gods, who could be seen and worshipped throughout the empire. A third party believes that it was mainly a political attempt to undermine, or even destroy, the power and wealth of the priesthood of Amun who had become increasingly rich and who could have threatened the power of the king himself. In modern terms, it was somewhat analogous to a conflict between church and state. Finally, there are those who believe that it was a combination of all these motives that initiated the Amarna revolution.

Be that as it may, one thing we are sure of is that the Amarna revolution was not a sudden inspiration with no anticipations. In fact it was a combination of movements and tendencies which can be traced back as far as the middle of the XVIII th Dynasty at least. In one way or

another, it was the outcome of the political and social history of the dynasty[1].

The name of Aten, the sun-disk, occurs occasionally in some texts from the Twelfth Dynasty onwards. In the reign of Thutmose I, the name is found accompanied, for the first time, by the determinative for god. A stela of Amenhotep II found at Giza shows two hands descending from the sun-disk and embracing the cartouche of the king[2]. On a scarab issued by Thutmose IV[3] we read that Aten preceded the king in battle in order to bring foreigners and Egyptians under the rule of Aten forever. With the advent of the reign of Amenhotep III, the occurrences of the name of Aten multiply. The epithet "Aten Gleams" was given to a regiment of the royal guard, the name of a town and the name of a boat built for Queen Tiyi. It is almost certain that the first Aten temple at Karnak was built in his reign. Ramose, who lived under Amenhotep II, the owner of tomb No. 46 at Thebes, is called "Steward in the Mansion of Aten". Pen-buy, another official who also lived under Amenhotep III,

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(1) H. W. Fairman, Egypt: from Akhenaten's Accession to Horemheb, contribution for CAH^2, II, now to be published elsewhere.

(2) S. Hassan, ASAE 38 (1938), pp. 53-61, pl. IX.

(3) J. Wilson, Burden p. 210; A. W. Shorter, JEA 17 (1931), pp. 23 ff, 18 (1932), pp. 110 ff., and 22 (1936), pp. 3 ff.

was "Scribe of the Treasury of the Temple of the Aten".

Meanwhile, it is noticeable that there was a general tendency towards solarisation in the XVIIIth Dynasty. Consequently, the cult of Re was introduced into Thebes. Solar chapels were erected in the temples of Deir el-Bahari[1] and of Amun at Karnak[2]. Thutmose IV relates how he received in a dream the promise of kingship from the solar god Harem-akhet embodied in the Great Sphinx of Giza[3].

In spite of all these prior trends one would not agree "that the general trend of events would have been the same had Ikhnaten been but a sack of sawdust"[4]. In actual fact the central figure in the Amarna revolution is Akhenaten himself and he is responsible for many features of the movement. One cannot escape from this overwhelming fact once one looks into the religious texts and artistic remains of this period.

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(1) Naville, Deir el-Bahari, I, pls. I and VIII.

(2) H. Kees, "Ein Sonnenheiligtum im Amunstempel von Karnak", Orientalia 18 (1949), pp. 427-442.

(3) Breasted, Ancient Records, II, §§ 810-815.

(4) L. A. White, "Ikhnaten: The Great Man vs. the Culture Process", JAOS 68 (1948), p. 113; A reply to this view is given by W. F. Edgerton, "The Great Man"; a Note on Methods, ibid., pp. 192-193.

It will be understood that this is not the place for a full-scale account of Atenism or of the history and development of the movement. For our purpose it will suffice to give in the most general terms an outline of the main features of Atenism leaving the more specialised details aside. Akhenaten introduced a form of solar monotheism in which the sun-disk Aten was considered the source of life of the whole creation, mankind (Egyptians and foreigners), animals and vegetables. The worship of all other gods, including Osiris, was forbidden. Even the term ntrw (gods) was erased wherever found. The Aten was not manifested in a statue or in animate forms. Usually we see the king worshipping the disk from which descend rays ending in hands which sometimes hold the signs of life and power. As the sun was seen by everybody, there was no need for secret rites. The temples of Aten were open to the sky rather like the solar temples of the Fifth Dynasty.

The nature of the monotheism itself is questioned. Many indications prove that Aten was, in fact, a complex entity, a trinity. He is essentially the sun god Re-Harakhty who is presented as the father and creator par excellence. He is also Aten, the sun-disk with its life-giving rays. Finally, Akhenaten claims "Thou (Aten) art in my heart and there is no other that knows thee save thy son Nefer-kheperu-Re Wa-en-Re (Akhenaten), for thou hast made him well versed in thy

plans and in thy strength"[1]. The adherents of the new faith did not direct their prayers to Aten but to the king who was identified with Aten. Hence the prayers of the courtiers were addressed to the king not to Aten. The conception of a god-king in Egypt is not a new one, but hitherto the king had been symbolically identified with the god. In the case of Akhenaten he is directly and individually identified with Aten. That is largely why upon his death the whole religion collapsed.

It is noticeable that in his 'teachings' (the Hymns to Aten) Akhenaten laid great stress on life rather than death and on day rather than night. All mention of the other life and its lord Osiris was deliberately omitted. Beautiful and original though these hymns were, they lack ethical teachings. The omission of the worship of Osiris may be largely responsible for this. The only traditional term with ethical value retained at Amarna is Maat, 'righteousness, justice or truth'. One of the epithets of Akhenaten is 'he-who-lives-on-truth'. But it seems certain that Maat here is not meant for its ethical content, righteousness or justice, but for truth in the sense of things as they are.

The concept of Maat as truth was not manifested anywhere so conspicuously as in the artistic expressions of the period. For Akhenaten truth in art meant the visual, rather than conceptual, rendition of the

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(1) J. Wilson in ANET, p. 371.

subjects depicted. This also meant an almost complete break from the traditional conventions of Egyptian art which were strongly established ever since the beginning of Egyptian history. As in religion, Akhenaten must be held responsible for this tremendous change. The architect Bek mentions on a relief at Aswan that he was "the assistant whom his majesty himself taught"[1]. In fact one cannot imagine that the artists would defy the long-established conventions in favour of new ones, and dare to show the figure of the king in its characteristic features without the encouragement, and even explicit instructions, from Akhenaten himself.

We have drawn attention to the fact that there were aspects of change in the art of Dynasty XVIII[2]. We know that there was a clear tendency towards naturalism[3]. The poses and gestures were less rigid, and there were examples of coherent compositions showing a sense of spatial relationship. But they remain isolated cases insufficient to bring about a major change of the sort which we find at Amarna. Most of these experimentations were overwhelmed by the ruling rigid conventions. They were applied to minor subjects and persons, and they

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(1) Breasted, Ancient Records, II, § 975.

(2) See supra, pp. 188-192.

(3) As shown in the paintings of the palace of Amehotep III at Malkata, see Smith, Art and Architecture, pp. 159-172, and pls. 120b-122; also Frankfort, (work cited, p.217, n.1 below), pl. 13.

were tried out by minor artists. This is why the change to Amarna, although it did not mean a complete break with the traditional art, is still to be considered revolutionary in nature.

As in religion the change in art came in Thebes. In fact some of the works exhibiting exaggerated characteristics belong to the early years of the revolution. This is shown by the statues of the king which were found at Karnak, now in Cairo Museum[1]. Here we do not have the traditional idealistic portrait of an ideal immortal king, but the truthful portrait of a particular individual with all the odd characteristics of his ailing body. Evidently the change into the Amarna style was abrupt. A perfect proof is found on the west wall of the tomb of the Vizier Ramose, No. 55[2]. Both the south and north sides of the wall are occupied by scenes of identical nature, i.e. public activities of the king. But while the scene on the south side of the wall is shown exactly in the traditional style with Akhenaten seated in the kiosk accompanied by the goddess Maat, the scene on the north side which shows the reception of foreign tirbute is depicted in the new Amarna fashion.

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(1) Ibid., pls. 124a and 125a; cf. also Aldred, Development, pls. 107-109.

(2) N. de G. Davies, The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose, London, 1941, pp. 27 ff. and pls. XXIX-XXXVIII, LI-LIV.

When the king moved his capital to the virgin site of Akhetaten, it seems that he did this impelled by his abhorrence of the priesthood of Amun. When the artists moved with him they gained a tremendous amount of freedom. The city was new and untrammeled by the conventions and traditions of the past. In this fresh atmosphere they had full scope to develop their new ideas and put them into practice. The concept of visual rendition of the subjects depicted was freely applied with full appreciation of the spatial relationships.

To achieve his objective of 'truth', the Amarna artist endeavoured a visual rendering not only in individual figures but also in complex compositions. This is quite a new venture for the Egyptian artist and its results was naturalism. The figure ceased to be a mere 'calligraphic ideogram' explaining particular ideas. Instead, each figure expressed individual qualities and possessed a life of its own. Its gestures and poses are no longer explicative, but are determined by the situation in which it is involved[1]. The artist emphasised the unity of the figures

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(1) We may note, for example, how the growing predilection for curved lines in figures in the New Kingdom (cf. already above, p.188) undergoes a sudden and dramatic extension in the art of Amarna, as remarked by Miss E. Tankard, JEA 18 (1932), p. 49. This development, however, corresponds to the intention of the Amarna artist to render his figures visually, rather than conceptually; see, for instance, H. Frankfort, The Mural Painting of El-'Amarneh, London, 1929, p. 4, fig. 2.

in a given composition not through the traditional way of common action or matter-of-fact formation. On the contrary, the unity of the composition was visually and emotionally maintained through the actual relations between the figures concerned[1].

Considering complex compositions we find again the break with the traditional conventions and the originality of the Amarna artist. There is a clear sense of spatial relationships. The wall is no longer divided into horizontal divisions by means of registers. On the contrary, apart from some few cases, each wall was treated as one entity occupied by one large scene. It is true that in many cases dividing lines are still used, but they now serve a purpose other than to mark registers, that is to act as ground-lines. Also contrary to the previous conventions, the principal figures, usually of the royal family, are depicted as active in the centre of the scene. The related groups of a scene are arranged in appropriate places, nearer to or further from the principal actors according to their social importance. Hence the space between the different groups is no mere void, but is significant. In their actions, the figures or groups are depicted in a particular moment of time. The timeless acts of the king or individuals

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(1) For the foregoing, cf. H. Frankfort, Mural Painting , pp. 4 ff.

are not shown. Hence, an element of time was added to the scene. Moreover, another element was added to the scene to enhance its naturalistic quality, that is specific location. The events are depicted as confined to particular places. Therefore, the conventional abstraction of a temple, royal baldachin or a fortress is supplanted here by the palace of the king, the temple of Aten and the house of such and such a person. In many cases the specific quality of these places has been proved by the excavations at Amarna.

There is no doubt that these innovations in rendition, i.e. the individuality of the characters and the specific nature of the time and place, are the very ones required for a successful pictorial story.

The revolution in art was not confined to style only, but it was extended to include the subject-matter of the decoration in the temples of Aten, the palaces of the king and the tombs of both private persons and royalty. As indicated above, in Atenism Akhenaten was the central figure of the whole movement. Contrary to the previous kings he was actually and not symbolically the centre of all actions and thoughts. This new concept is clearly expressed nowhere better than in art. An example may make this clear. In the private tombs, the old themes of decoration were completely concerned with the status, social and political life of the deceased. They showed him symbolically engaged in or watching

different activities such as agriculture, social banquets, hunting, funerary processions, etc. The figures of the king appeared very rarely in private tombs and then only statically engaged in symbolic actions. In short the whole concern of the subjects was then the private person himself. But at Amarna, the direct opposite is the case, with the king as the dominating factor. The themes of decoration are concerned with the tomb owner least of all. In any given tomb, it is the king and his family, his palaces and his various activities which predominate. For the first time in Egyptian art, and the last, the private life of the royal family was exposed to fullest view on the monuments, with total disregard of all previous traditions. These new themes are so pervasive that we learn hardly anything about the owner of the tomb, his status, family, etc. And what we do know is learnt almost accidentally and through the tomb-owner's relation to the king.

The abolition of the old themes was not replaced by an equivalent range of new ones. Consequently, the repertoire of the Amarna artist was extremely limited. As the same subjects are repeated from one tomb to another, and from the palace to the temple, most of the narrative scenes gain a repetitive quality which reduces their uniqueness. Thus, unique narrative scenes, as we shall see, are extremely rare.

Turning to the resources of Amarna art we find that our information

comes chiefly from the private tombs and thousands of blocks which once constituted the palaces and temples of this period, together with the partially decorated royal tomb.

The private tombs are excavated in the eastern cliffs and are grouped in southern and northern groups[1]. The tombs of the southern group are known to be earlier than those of the northern. Owing to the bad quality of the rock the walls of the tombs were usually covered with a coat of plaster, then the scenes were executed in sunk relief which were finally painted with the appropriate colours[2].

Roughly half way round the great arc of the cliffs, between the northern and southern groups of private tombs, is a big wadi, Wadi Abu el-Ḥaṣah el-Bahari[3], frequently called in Egyptological literature, Darb el-Ḥamzawi[4]. About six miles along this wadi there opens up on the

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(1) All published by N. de G. Davies, The Rock Tombs of El Amarna, six vols., London, 1903-1908; cf. also U. Bouriant and others, Les tombes de Khouitatounou, in Mem.Miss. Fra., VIII, Le Caire, 1903.

(2) Davies, op.cit., I, pp. 18-19 and IV, pp. 32-33.

(3) Porter and Moss, Bibliography, IV, p. 235.

(4) Bouriant, op.cit., pp. 5 ff.

north a small subsidiary wadi, whose local name appears to be Darb el-Malek[1]. in which is excavated the royal tomb. Another small wadi on the south side of the main one contains several small unfinished tombs.

When we come to the royal buildings, temples and palaces, we find a different story. As might be expected, after the final collapse of the Amarna regime, an organised campaign of hatred was directed against all its buildings. Beginning as early as the reign of Horemhab, this campaign reached its full violence under Seti I and Ramesses II. All the standing buildings were used as quarries from which the contractors obtained blocks for other edifices. Therefore, very few fragments of the walls have remained in situ. So it is very difficult to find pictorial information in Amarna save for the paintings on the pavements and walls of the palaces[2].

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(1) Les Guides Bleus, Egypte, Paris, 1956, pp. 280 ff.

(2) For the North Palace, see N. de G. Davies in Frankfort, Mural Painting, chap. III, and pls. II-XII, XIV; see also J.D.S. Pendlebury, in JEA 18 (1932), p. 144, pl. XII:2; Nina Davies, Anc.Eg.Paintings, II, pls. LXXV-LXXVI. For the Central Palace and Royal House cf. W.M.F. Petrie, Tell el Amarna, London, 1894, pp. 11 ff., and pls. I: 12, II-V; N. de G. Davies, JEA 7 (1921), pp. 1-7, and pls. I-IV; Nina Davies, op.cit., II, pl. LXXIV; F.W. von Bissing, Der Fussboden aus dem Palaste des Königs Amenophis IV. zu El Hawata, Munich, 1941. For Maruaten, see T. E. Peet and C.L. Woolley, The City of Akhenaten, I, London, 1923, pls. XXIX, XXXVI-XXXIX.

These paintings, particularly those of the pavements, reveal a love of nature the like of which had scarcely been seen before. Apart from that, the blocks of the temples and palaces have been found reused in many other places. This explains the sandstone blocks which have been recovered at Karnak from the second, ninth and tenth pylons of Horemhab and the Great Hypostyle Hall completed by Ramesses II, together with blocks from Luxor Temple and Medamoud[1]. These are all presumed to have come from the Aten temple which was erected in the early years of Akhenaten outside the eastern enclosure wall of the Amun precinct. These blocks clearly show the style of early Amarna art, but they have not yet been given any considerable study. Hundreds of limestone blocks presumed to have come from Amarna itself were found at Hermopolis and have largely found their way into several American private collections[2]. The reliefs of the temples of Aten at Sesibi were chiselled out and replaced by reliefs of Seti I[3].

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(1) Smith, Art and Architecture, pp. 178 ff. and A. Fakhry, ASAE 35 (1935), pp. 35-51.

(2) J. D. Cooney, Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections, Brooklyn, 1965, cf. also H. Hoffman, Norbert Schimmel Collection, Mainz, 1964, pls. 104-128.

(3) Cf., Breasted, AJSL 25 (1908), pp. 51 ff., and Blackman, JEA 23 (1937), pp. 145 ff.

Narrative in Amarna Art

As the subject-matter in the royal and private tombs and the palaces and temples was almost identical, and as the royal reliefs are so fragmentary, there will be no need here to treat the private and royal scenes separately as was done in previous chapters.

1. Scenes of Rewarding and Promoting Officials

This is one of the most prominent subjects that we find in the decorated tombs of Amarna. It is difficult to find a tomb without one or more of these scenes. They are usually depicted in the hall; but while they occupy the south side of the west wall in the southern group[1], they occupy the south wall in the northern group. There are some cases, however, where the scene extends from one wall onto another[2].

As the scenes of rewarding and promoting are more or less repetitive, it will prove convenient to discuss them collectively, indicating, however, the variations from one tomb to another. And since the southern group is the earliest, we may well start with its tombs.

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(1) In the tomb of Mahu, the scenes of rewarding occupy the north and east walls, see Davies, El Amarna, IV, pls. XVIII-XIX; and in the tomb of Parennefer, they occupy the north side of the west wall, ibid., pls. IV-V, VII.

(2) The tomb of Meryre I, for example, ibid., I, pl. X.

In the tomb of Tutu, we see the deceased being appointed as "Chief Servitor of Nefer-Kheperu-re [in the temple of] Aten in Akhetaten"[1]. The king is leaning out of the 'Window of Appearances', while the rays of Aten are shed over him, some holding life-signs to his nose. Behind the king was Queen Nefertiti whose figure is now entirely lost. There remains only a cartouche containing her name "Nefer-neferu-aten". Behind the royal couple are the frequently depicted internal apartments of the palace with servants carrying on their daily work.

In the courtyard, between the pylon and the window of appearances, stands Tutu himself receiving the honours bestowed upon him by the king. He raises his hands in a gesture of joy, awe and gratitude. A servant bows down behind him, and holds out a collar to his master. In the bottom row, between two small gates, still in the courtyard, are two royal chariots attended to by grooms and servants.

The appointment of Tutu was witnessed by the foreign representatives shown on the top row, and below them by soldiers holding standards, their officers, the scribes who are seen recording the event, and finally the

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(1) Ibid., VI, pls. XIX-XX, pp. 12-14, and Bouriant, op.cit., pls. LVII - LVIII. The scenes are on the south side of the west wall. Cf. our pls. 34-35.

high officials of the state. Each group is depicted in a separate row. Two other rows show servants looking after the gifts given to Tutu.

After the ceremonies in the royal palace were completed, Tutu is seen emerging from the royal gate. Waiting for him are his friends, relatives and household womenfolk, as well as his chariot. All have come to congratulate him on this honour. Some of them kneel, others are bowing, while the women are clapping and singing. Escorted by a band of soldiers and accompanied by all the signs of jubilation, Tutu mounts his chariot and drives towards the temple of Aten, shown on the left, where he is supposed to hold his office[1]. Depicted on the top row are some of the features on the route to the temple, i.e. police posts on which standards are raised, and stables containing horses and chariots. In the bottom register are chariots driven to and fro, men driving cattle and others carrying bundles of papyrus. They all show the bustling activities along a busy main road.

The rewarding of Tutu is portrayed on the north side of the same wall[2]. In fact, this scene and the previous one are physically related in

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(1) Davies, op.cit., p. 11, suggests that he was driving towards his home, as customary on such occasions, near the temple. This does not seem likely.

(2) Ibid., pls. XVII-XVIII, pp. 10-12, cf., Bouriant, op.cit., pls. LX-LXI.

that we find the apartments of the palace extending over the doorway and meeting in the centre over the lintel. The different episodes of this event are unfinished. However, the king is seen here seated on a stool in the courtyard of the palace instead of leaning from the window of appearances. Behind him the queen is also seated, dandling three of her daughters. The upper part of her figure is lost. They are accompanied by male and female servants and fan-bearers depicted on a small scale in the bottom row. Over the royal couple is the sun-disk from which descend the rays ending with hands, two (?) of which hold the signs of life to the royal nostrils. Tutu stands in front of the king raising his hands in a gesture of awe rather than jubilation. Behind him, from top to bottom, are the royal chariots, foreign representatives, standard-bearers, courtiers, scribes and high officials. The servants of Tutu bring gifts including five fat bulls with festive decoration on their horns. One of them is seen just passing through the front gate of the courtyard.

Having received his rewards, Tutu is seen leaving the palace to be met with the same kind of jubilation that we have seen before. His servants are loaded with gifts and drive oxen. The womenfolk of his household are clapping and singing. Since the decoration is unfinished, one presumes that the rest of it was supposed to show Tutu driving amid scenes of joy to his house. But this will be seen in the other tombs.

The rewarding of Parennefer is depicted on the north side of the west wall[1]. The work on the scenes was left unfinished. Hence, it is partially in relief and partially in ink. The scenes are shown in the usual manner. Akhenaten and Nefertiti are leaning from the balcony. Over them is the Aten with its rays descending. Behind them, on a separate row, are three princesses and their nurses. They are also accompanied by Benretmut, the queen's sister. Details of the palace apartments are also shown. Parennefer stands in front of the balcony loaded with collars and raises his hands in excitement. A row of servants carrying gifts are seen moving towards a side gate in the bottom row. The foreign representatives, officials and mayors are also represented inside the courtyard witnessing this important occasion.

The rest of the event is incomplete and is badly mutilated. However, the rest of the wall is divided into five rows, four of which show the servants of Parennefer carrying gifts. The central row shows Parennefer himself mounting his chariot and driving home. His excited wife meets him with upraised hands. She is accompanied by a great number of women singing and dancing.

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(1) Davies, El Amarna, VI, pls. IV-V, VII, pp. 3-5, cf. also Bouriant, op.cit., pl. LXV.

Few traces of the house of Parennefer, towards which the procession is moving, can be seen on a part of the north wall of the hall.

Work on the scenes of the reward of Mahu, the commandant of police, was also left unfinished. Therefore, most of the event is shown only in black ink[1]. The usual rendition of the royal family on the balcony has entirely disappeared. Only parts of the loggia survive. Mahu is shown as if he has just arrived at the courtyard. The gesture of his hands and the expression of his mouth shows that he is hailing the king. He is received by a standard-bearer and accompanied by a numerous escort. Remains of the officials and the fan-bearers present at such an occasion are still to be seen in the upper row, while in the top row are two royal chariots.

After receiving his rewards, Mahu is seen walking at the head of a procession of soldiers formed up in files of five and followed by women of his household. His destination is the Aten temple shown on the right. On his arrival at the temple he kneels in front of an offering table before the temple. He raises his hands in adoration to the Aten. His soldiers

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(1) The scenes are shown on the east side of the north wall and the north half of the east wall. Davies, El Amarna, IV, pls. XVII-XIX, and pp. 14-15.

are waiting behind him. Waiting also is his chariot and its grooms. The purpose of this visit to the temple is not quite clear. The only other example we know of is in the tomb of Tutu. Did Mahu go there as a sign of thanks-giving to the lord of the temple?

It is also unfortunate that the rewarding scenes in the tomb of May are also incomplete. However, we see here a remarkable deviation from the common form for dealing with this theme[1]. Although most of the elements usually found in such a scene may have been represented, the artist essayed to render the foreground of the picture, a feature rarely known in Egyptian art (pl. 36). At the top of the picture we see the remains of the palace and the persons involved in the event. The palace seems to have been surrounded by a colonnade. Two paths slope away from this colonnade down to two landing-stages on the bank of the river. At the latter, two royal ships, one of the king and the other of the queen, lie moored. Before and behind them is a number of smaller boats. On the right a crew are seen busy on shore. Between the river and the palace is the royal garden where palms, shrubs, papyrus and flowers flourish.

Gardeners are seen busily moving flowers and plants which they have cut.

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(1) Davies, El Amarna, V, pl. V., pp. 3-4.

Although this scene is incomplete, the two diagonally sloping paths are the nearest approach to a rendition of persepective by an Egyptian artist.

Better preserved are the scenes of the rewarding of the Father of the God Ay, who is exceptionally accompanied by his wife Ty (pls.37-38)[1]. On the balcony we see the king, queen and three princesses, the youngest of whom looks back at her mother touching her chin. The queen in turn caresses the young princess's head. All persons of the royal family are shown in complete nudity. Behind the royal family are the familiar palace quarters repeated in so many tombs. On a separate line is Benretmut, the Queen's sister. In front of the window, Ay and Ty, loaded with collars around their necks, are still receiving gifts showered down from the balcony. Further gifts are heaped up in front of Ay. They include collars, fillets, cups of gold (?), vases, signet-rings, a pair of gloves, and a pair of plain armlets.

The crowd that witnessed the event is grouped in significant fashion in the courtyard according to their social status. In the top row are the two royal chariots and their grooms. Then come the foreign representa-

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(1) Davies, El Amarna, VI, pls. XXVIII-XXX, pp. 19 ff., Bouriant, op.cit., pls. XXIII-XXIV.

tives, accompanied by the Egyptian scribes and interpreters. Squads of police and mercenaries are followed on a lower line by four standard bearers, negro bowmen and Libyan spearmen. Right in front of the window, hence given precedence, we have from top to bottom the royal scribes, high officials and fan-bearers, then the high priest of Aten and the vizier. Behind Ay and Ty are two attendants. Behind these, six men are performing a dance, while a seventh, their leader, is raising his hands towards the balcony as if addressing the king.

When Ay emerges from the gates of the palace he is met by his friends who have come to congratulate him. He is accompanied by servants loaded with gifts. Three chariots are waiting in an upper row. In the top row we see the background showing the police posts along the road. There we read the most interesting and unconventional chat between the men on guard and children in the city. Thus, one of the guards asks, "For whom is this rejoicing being made, my boy?" The boy replies, "The rejoicing is being made for Ay, the Father of the God, along with Ty. They have been made people of gold". Another guardsman asks a boy, "Hasten, go see the loud rejoicing, who it is, and come back at a run", and so on. One may note that the conversation here relates to a specific occasion and is not mere conventional clichés.

Turning now to the tombs of the northern group, we do not find much

difference, with regard to the subject-matter of the decoration. The scenes showing the appointment of Meryre I as high priest of Aten are depicted on the west side of the south wall of the pillared hall[1]. The king and queen, accompanied by one daughter, are leaning out of the window of appearances giving gifts and collars to Meryre. The usual sun-disk with descending rays appears. Meryre is seen kneeling and raising his hand towards the king. Behind him are some of his followers. Having received the new post and his gifts, he is then seen carried on the shoulders of his followers, while his neck is loaded with collars. Scribes, fan-bearers and soldiers are present. Instead of following the scene of appointment on the same level, as is usual in the southern group, the episodes outside the court-yard are shown underneath the appointment-scene in two rows. This scene is badly damaged, yet we can still see two servants looking after the gifts given to Meryre, the chariot waiting to convey him home, his friends and professional dancers.

The scene of rewarding Meryre occupies the lower half of the east wall and extends onto the east side of the north wall[2]. In the courtyard

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(1) Davies, El Amarna, I, pls. VI-IX, and pp. 20-23.

(2) Davies, El Amarna, I, pls. XXV-XXXIII, pp. 32-42.

of the temple granary the king leans on a staff. Behind him stands the queen followed by two daughters and servants. Meryre stands in front of the king raising his hands in joy while the Superintendent of the Treasury of the Golden Collars fastens collars around his neck. Fan-bearers, officials, scribes and servants carrying gifts are also present. Outside the courtyard two royal chariots are waiting; and waiting also is the body-guard of the king with their shields and spears. As the courtyard was not far from the river-bank we see thirteen vessels depicted at their moorings. Between the river-bank and the courtyard there are two cattleyards, shown in the top row, each yard containing twenty cattle.

From the left side of the courtyard one enters into the granary proper through two doors leading to two yards differing in size. Each one contained four magazines. An exit at the rear of the larger yard leads to four groups of store-rooms separated by avenues of trees. They contained all the treasures of the temple such as jars of wine, precious material, bales of cloth, bread, etc. On the north wall is a detailed representation of a private house presumed to be that of Meryre himself.

The upper half of the wall is occupied by a scene showing a royal visit to the temple. On the right there is the royal palace. The king is in the courtyard of the temple consecrating offerings to the sun-disk. He is accompanied by the queen and four princesses. Between the courtyard and

the palace we see the two royal chariots, attended to by grooms and charioteers, standard-bearers and foreign representatives. The greater part of the wall as well as the north wall is occupied by a detailed representation of the Aten temple itself.

Whether this royal visit is actually connected with the event of the rewarding of Meryre or whether they are two separate events, one cannot determine. It may not be far from the truth if we assume that the king took the opportunity of visiting the temple to bestow his honour on Meryre who had particular responsibilities towards the revenues of the temple of Aten.

Another official was also rewarded on the occasion of the king visiting the temple, that is Pentu[1]. Here we see the king, queen and three princesses who have dismounted from their chariots and walk towards the great pylon of the temple. As they approach, the sun rays meet them and the king raises his hands in adoration. By the gates are two priests, one of whom is presumed to be Pentu, bowing and receiving the royal cortège. Behind the pylon is the court of the temple which contains offering-tables. On the extreme right the Smaller Sanctuary is shown. Outside it stands the king, followed by the queen, rewarding Pentu who raises his hands in

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(1) Davies, El Amarna, IV, pls. V-VII; the representation is badly damaged.

joy. An official places the collars around Pentu's neck, while another collar lies on a stand between them. Present are the scribes and the bodyguard of the king.

The scenes of rewarding Pentu in the temple occupy the upper half of the north wall. The lower half of the same wall is occupied by another scene of reward, this time in the courtyard of the temple granary[1]. This scene is parallel to the one we have just seen in the tomb of Meryre, but it is badly damaged. On the left, in the bottom row are nineteen ships moored at the quay. Along the quay are the remains of the villas and gardens. A corniced gateway gives access to the court of the store-yard where the king and the queen are standing bestowing honours on the worthy Pentu. Behind the royal couple is the granary filled with heaps of grain, now lost. This is followed by the cattle-yard, of which only a fragment remains, which contained cattle fed by herdsmen.

On the south wall of the same hall Pentu is seen rewarded for the third time, but in the palace this time[2]. The scenes here are also badly damaged. The king sits in the great reception hall, presumably accom-

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(1) Davies, El Amarna, IV, pl. VIII, and a fragment in pl. IX, pp. 3-4.

(2) Ibid., pl. VIII (lower), p.5.

panied by the queen. Behind them are the inner quarters of the palace. Pentu stands in front of the king in the usual attitude while an official is placing the collars around his neck. The scene showing Pentu outside the gates met by his friends is terribly damaged.

In relatively better condition, are the reward scenes in the tomb of Panehsy which occupy the west side of the south wall of the hall[1]. Under the solar disk Akhenaten is seen again leaning from the balcony of his palace. Behind him is Nefertiti who looks back talking to their daughter Merytaten. The queen puts her right hand tenderly on her daughter's shoulder while her left hand is around the king's waist. The other princesses are also present but not on the balcony. Panehsy stands before the window raising his hands happily and loaded with collars around his neck. Behind him are more gifts on stands and carried by servants. The foreign representatives, scribes and high officials are present as usual.

The lower part of the wall shows the scene when Panehsy leaves the palace. It is divided into two rows. In the upper one is a chariot, gifts, friends and attendants. In the lower one is another chariot, more friends

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(1) Davies, El Amarna, II, pls. X-XI, and pp. 16-17.

and relations offering their congratulations; some of them wave branches. The women are singing while the official is escorted by a band of soldiers.

When Tiyi the queen mother came to visit Amarna (after year 12), she brought Huya with her. He was then appointed "Superintendent of the Treasury and steward in the house of the Queen-mother". His appointment to this office is recorded on the west side of the north wall of his tomb[1]. There the king and queen lean from the palace balcony, accompanied by two daughters. Huya stands in front of them in the usual attitude arrayed with collars. High officials, two scribes and servants are present. The subscene on this wall is evidently connected with the main one. For there we see Huya carrying out his duties in the palace.

On the east side of the same wall is a parallel scene showing the rewarding of Huya[2]. It does not differ much from the previous scene, except that we see more attendants as well as the royal chariot. The subscene shows Huya in a tour around the workshops of the different crafts in the city of Akhetaten.

The decoration of Meryre II is portrayed on the east side of the

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(1) Davies, El Amarna, III, pl. XVI, pp. 12-13.

(2) Ibid., pl. XVII, pp. 13 ff.

south wall of the hall[1]. The usual elements that we have encountered before are present (pl. 39). The main scene shows the king in the familiar window of appearances giving a collar to Meryre who stands in the porch to receive it. The king had previously received the collar from two princesses who pass on further collars. The princesses stand on a separate ground-line. Apart from a store-room, no details of the palace are shown, probably for the lack of space. In the courtyard is the familiar crowd which witnesses the event: as usual the foreign representatives, the scribes and high officials, and also the royal chariots.

In the two rows of subscenes, we find that Meryre has just emerged from the palace gate followed by his servants carrying all kinds of gifts. He is received by friends who demonstrate their joy by raising their hands. His chariot is waiting.

In the bottom register he is seen mounting his chariot amid scenes of rejoicing; relatives and friends are showing their happiness and the women of his household dance and sing. The whole cortège moves towards the house of Meryre which is shown on the left and which is preceded by a garden and a T-shaped pond.

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(1) Ibid., II, pls. XXXIII-XXXVI, pp. 36 ff.

An unfinished scene on the east side of the north wall of the same hall shows another occasion of rewarding Meryre[1]. On the right is a sketch of the palace. In the courtyard stand the king and queen but the cartouches contain the names of Smenkhkare and Merytaten instead of Akhenaten and Nefertiti. This proves that this scene was executed in the brief reign of Smenkhkare or even during his probable coregency with Akhenaten. However, we see Meryre being decorated by several servants. The officials and fan-bearers are present as usual.

Going through the scenes of the promotion and rewarding of officials, it is evident that the basic elements are repeated in tomb after tomb. This, of course, is due to the new concept of concentrating all artistic manifestation around the king and his official activities and private life, which, in turn, limited the repertoire of the Amarna artist. Naturally we find some variations from one tomb to another, such as the rewarding of an official in the temple, or grainyard, instead of the palace; the king and queen stand in the courtyard instead of leaning out of the window of appearances; the rewarded official proceeds towards the temple instead of his house; and so on. However, the basic theme is identical, even the form of its rendition is repeated. This accounts for the tombs of the

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(1) Davies, El Amarna, II, pl. XLI, pp. 43-44.

southern group as well as those of the northern. The only difference between the two groups is in the arrangement of the episodes of each event on the wall. In the southern group, the scenes which take place outside the court-yard, i.e. the reception by the joyful friends and relatives and the driving home, are portrayed on the same level as the main scenes of decoration within the courtyard[1]. In the northern group these same scenes are shown as if subsidiary to the main one and so are portrayed underneath it.

Characteristic of the Amrna art, the places in which the events happened and the characters involved are all rendered with specific qualities. Therefore, the temple of Aten, the grain and cattle yards, the palace of the king and the house of the official are all particular places rendered with their individual features most of which are borne out by the results of the excavations on the site. Comparing these places with the scenes of promoting officials in the first half of the dynasty we may find a clear difference. For in such scenes, during the ceremonies of the promotion, the king sat in a kiosk, an abstract rendition of the palace, and after the ceremonies were finished the procession moved to a temple, with no indication which temple was meant.

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(1) The tomb of Mahu is excluded since it follows the northern pattern.

Meanwhile, the characters who took part in the events are easily recognisable; Akhenaten, Nefertiti, the princesses, the officials are all well-known personalities. In his treatment, the artist showed them as they are and governed by their situations. The old concept of rendering the king and the official as they ought to be shown is here abandoned. Instead the king and his adherents, the official and his followers are all seen in a dynamic relationship with all the relevent actions and responses. The specific rendition of the persons limits the time of the event. The gestures and poses are neither timeless nor conventional, but show momentary responses to particular actions, express discernible feelings and these combine to provide the time element in the representation.

Even the back-chat among the subordinate characters is not conventional. An example was seen in the tomb of Ay where we found that the chatter between the guardsman and the boys of the city is directly related to the incident depicted. In short, with regard to these scenes, there is nothing typical or timeless; on the contrary, they are specific and limited to particular places and fixed points of time.

But in spite of all these conditioning qualities, there still arises the question, do these scenes show narrative in the full sense of the word? This question arises from the fact that the scenes are repetitive. The same theme, the same characters, the same places and even the same

forms of rendition are seen in tomb after tomb. This in turn throws shadows of doubt on the specific qualities of the events. Hence, the narrative quality of the scenes comes into question.

It may be noted that we have two sets of scenes showing two categories of events, i.e. the scenes of the promotion of the officials and the scenes of their rewarding. Both of these categories, however, are rendered in typical Amarna forms and, but for the explanatory texts, an extrinsic medium, one would not know which is which. Yet, the scenes of rewarding are commoner in the tombs. They are even sometimes repeated more than once in one tomb (e.g. the tomb of Pentu). Although the actuality of these events cannot be completely denied, their sheer repetition greatly reduced their impact as narrative. In other words, the repetition of these scenes, not merely in theme but specially in form, robs them of their individuality, and detracts from their claim to narrate specific events.

With regard to the scenes of promotion, we stand on more solid ground. Here we find that an official has been promoted to a particular post, an event which must have happened once in his lifetime. This is an undeniable fact considering the appointment of Tutu as Chief Servitor in the temple of Aten, Meryre as High Priest of Aten and Huya as Superintendent of the Treasury. These are specific events rendered in typical Amarna forms.

2. The Reception of Foreign Tribute

This subject has been encountered before with regard to the Theban tombs. But while its rendition there aimed at emphasising the social or political status of the official by showing him performing his normal duties, we find that the situation is different at Amarna. To begin with, the scenes here are not directly concerned with the official but rather with the king; this, in addition to the fact that the scenes seem to record a historical event.

This historical event, at any rate, is depicted in two neighbouring tombs of the northern group, namely the tomb of Huya and that of Meryre II.

In the first tomb the event is recorded on the west wall of the hall (pls. 40-41)[1]. On the left, the king and queen, seated side by side, are seen carried in a state palanquin borne by fifteen men. Under the Aten, the king holds a flail in one hand and a crook in the other, while the queen passes her arm around his waist. In front of them is an inscription which mentions that in "Year 12, the second month of winter, the eighth day", the king, "made a public appearance on the great palanquin of electrum to

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(1) Davies, El Amarna, III, pls. XIII-XV, and pp. 9-12.

receive the tribute of Syria (Kharu) and Nubia (Kush), the West and East; all the countries collected at one time, and the islands in the midst of the sea"[1]. Behind the royal couple follow four of their daughters attended by nurses and women in waiting. The palace from which the cortège has begun is seen at top left. It is relatively small, as if seen from a distance, and as usual some details of the internal apartments are exhibited.

The royal cortège is accompanied by a priest censing, a sunshade- and fan-bearers, and officials and attendants who are seen walking and bowing in front. The royal chariots may be seen and presumed to be waiting to be used for the return journey. A military escort, whose men wear two feathers on their heads, precede the cortège. Four men dancing are to be seen in the procession[2].

The destination of this procession is a small pavilion shown on the right[3]. Its roof is supported by twelve columns, four on each side. As

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(1) Ibid., p. 9, cf. Breasted, Ancient Records, II, § 1015.

(2) For another example of these dancers see the rewarding scenes in the tomb of Ay, supra, p. 232.

(3) For a discussion of the possible location of the "Hall of Foreign Tribute", see H. W. Fairman, The City of Akhenaten, III, London, 1951, pp. 203-210.

it stands on a platform, it is approached by a flight of steps on each of its four sides. Near to it are small buildings including a shrine containing an offering-table, two altars, and magazines.

The tribute-bearers and slaves move from the left and right toward those buildings. In the top left three rows are the people of the North, i.e. Syria, presenting their tribute which consists of two chariots, four sacks and three vases filled with spices and unguents. On the right are two more rows of Syrian gifts including vases decorated with animal heads, and open bowls. Below them are nine rows of Syrian slaves, each row guarded by an officer or two. The tribute of the South, exhibited on the lower three lines, consists of Negro slaves, skins, golden rings, elephant-tusks, chairs made of ebony, monkeys, leopards, antelopes, etc.

Another version of the same event is depicted in the adjacent tomb of Meryre II[1]. Although the subject is the same, the treatment is different, that is to say the moment chosen by Meryre's artists to record the event is later than the one chosen by Huya's. Therefore, in Meryre's tomb we see Akhenaten and Nefertiti not carried in the state palanquin, but already seated side by side in the pavilion on a platform, reached by

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(1) Davies, El Amarna, II, pls. XXXVII-XL, and pp. 38-43.

at least two flights of steps on opposite sides (pl. 42). The queen, affectionately, passes one hand around her husband's waist while she holds his hand with the other. Within the pavilion are six princesses arranged in two subordinate lines. Outside the pavilion are three columns of inscription, now badly mutilated, which record the date of the event.

On the nearest side of the pavilion, seen underneath it, are the two palanquins which brought the king and queen from the palace. On the same line we see the two royal chariots, servants and attendants, a priest burning incense and a military escort. On the bottom two lines are more troops, holding clubs, axes or spears, some wearing two feathers on their heads. We also see three fat oxen driven to be sacrificed.

The tribute of the South and North and the people who brought it are exhibited to the right and left of the royal pavilion. On the right, that is on the southern section of the wall, is the tribute of the South which is arranged in five rows. In the top row are specimens of the tribute including rings of gold, ostrich feathers, two dom palms made of metal, bags of gold dust, shields, bows, arrows and so on. The second row includes leopards and antelopes, brought by Negro chiefs. In the third and fourth rows we find Negro slaves, men, women and children. Those children who were too young to walk were carried in

panniers on the backs of their mothers. The fifth row is occupied by negro men engaged in athletic games of boxing, wrestling and singlestick.

It seems that the Nubian tribute was introduced by Meryre who seems to be shown standing on the steps in front of the king. He is followed by four other officials, sunshade- and fan-bearers and a military escort. On the same line we see once again the dancing boys whom we have met twice before, then another escort of soldiers. Just above and to the right of Meryre and his colleagues, is a group in which he appears to be rewarded with a collar of gold for his part in the proceedings as Treasurer.

The tribute of the Northern countries is shown on the left, that is the northern section of the wall. The upper seven rows exhibit the gifts and slaves from Syria. They are introduced by the Syrian chieftains who are seen kneeling at the head of every row. The gifts consist of bows and arrows, daggers, chariots and horses, all kinds of vases as well as living wild animals. The Syrian men are characterised by their dress, long hair and goatee beards. In the eighth row are five men who wear two feathers on their heads and different kinds of dress and bring ostrich feathers and eggs. They are presumed to be a Libyan delegation. Finally in the bottom row is another delegation of five men who wear characteristic Syrian clothing. But the style of their hair suggests that they come from the land of the Hittites. They also bring tribute.

Leaving aside the exaggeration inherent in the way the Egyptian recorded historical events, it is still highly probable that in the twelfth year of the reign of Akhenaten there was a demonstration of loyalty exacted from the rulers of the Northern and Southern countries. Therefore they brought, and sent, all kinds of gifts and slaves to show their loyalty. Whether this loyalty was real, or a mere pretence is another matter. All that concerns us, actually, is that the event occurred at that date.

This being so, we will find an essential difference between the recording of this event in the two tombs of Amarna and the recording of similar, but typical, events in the Theban tombs. As pointed out above, and as must be stressed here, the purpose of the Theban tribute scenes was to demonstrate the functions and duties of the high officials, not to record particular events. In fact they were no different from the typical scenes of daily life. In Amarna the demonstration of loyalty to Akhenaten by bringing tribute was carried out in actual life on a definite date, then recorded in picture and writing.

Turning to the treatment of the event, we find a difference between the two tombs. In the tomb of Huya we find that the artist chose the moment when the royal cortège departed from the palace to the pavilion. This gave him a chance to depict two particular places, the palace and

pavilion, and to confine the action to a particular point in space as well as providing the picture with an element of time. In his choice of characters he seems selective, therefore the picture is not crowded.

In the tomb of Meryre, the artist seems to be more concerned with putting emphasis on the event itself. Hence he overcrowded the picture with figures and rendered the royal pavilion as the focus of the whole picture. Yet, the pavilion is not related to any other specific building and therefore to a particular point of space. On the other hand, apart from the delicate feeling shown when the queen holds the king's hand, the rendition of Akhenaten and of the pavilion and the crowds of foreign representatives is formal and seems rather static. In fact it reminds us of the similar scenes in the Theban tombs. Thus, although the artist chose the moment of the apogee of the event, and although his rendition is grandly comprehensive and overwhelming, yet the ultimate effect of the narrative qualities in Meryre is reduced.

However, it may be noticed that in the latter tomb the disposition of the foreign representatives and their tribute on the wall was executed according to a particular concept of orientation. Therefore, the tribute of the South was depicted on the southern section of the wall while the tribute of the North was shown on its northern section.

3. The Death of Meketaten[1]

The extraordinary scenes recording the death of Meketaten, the second daughter of Akhenaten, are depicted in two versions in two chambers in the royal tomb. As the stone in which the tomb was excavated is of the worst possible quality, the reliefs were executed in plaster, and this is responsible for the mutilated condition in which the scenes were found.

The relatively better preserved version of the event apparently comprises two episodes and occupies the west, south and east walls of the chamber gamma. The first episode runs from the west onto the south wall. Meketaten is seen standing (!) under a light canopy decorated with flowers and raised on a platform (pl. 43). She is fully dressed, right up to the conical lump of unguent on her head. Is she dying or already dead? We have no way of telling. But outside the canopy we see her sorrowing parents with their hands raised to their heads. They are weeping. Over the king's head is the radiant sun-disk. Behind the queen are three princesses lamenting the loss of their sister. The rest of the wall, behind the royal family, is divided into two lines occupied by

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(1) Published by Bouriant, op.cit., pls. VI-XIII, and pp. 19-23; cf. Bouriant, Rec. de Trav. 18, pp. 144-150, and Pendlebury, "Report on the clearance of the Royal Tomb of El Amarna", ASAE 31 (1931), pp. 123-125.

mourners who do not fail to show their grief and sorrow, crying, striking their faces or throwing dust on their heads. On the sub-line running below the whole scene are all kinds of offerings.

The second episode (pl. 44) is portrayed on the east wall. The left side of the picture is badly damaged. However, we can still see a room shown in ground-plan. In the middle of the room is a bier on which lies the dead body of Meketaten (now lost). On the left two of her sisters are weeping in despair. On the right were the figures of her parents, now almost lost, also weeping. Outside the room are two lines of mourners, weeping, striking their faces and throwing dust on their heads. One woman is about to collapse and is supported by another. A third woman, attended by two sunshade-bearers, is suckling a baby in her arms. On the bottom register offerings are exhibited.

The other version of the event is depicted on the south side of the west wall of the chamber alpha. It occurs in two episodes also (pl. 45), but portrayed in two superimposed registers. The left end of the top register is lost. From what remains we see the king and queen weeping in the same room. Over their heads is the sun-disk. The figure of Meketaten which presumably was depicted, is now lost. However, even in that hour of despair and sorrow the king is holding the hand of his wife consolingly. Outside the room is one row of mourners among whom we

may recognise the collapsing woman and the other suckling the baby. Offerings are shown on the top and bottom.

In the lower register, we see the same room again and the bier on which rests the body of Meketaten. At least one of her sisters is weeping, so are the king and queen. The king again holds the hand of his consort. Outside the room are the mourners and offerings.

Owing to the lack of any informative texts and the mutilated condition of the reliefs as well as the novelty of the scenes, it is difficult to find out the relation between the two episodes of each version. In both episodes we see mourning and signs of grief as well as offerings; but in one case the figure of Meketaten is shown standing inside a canopy, while in the other she is lying on a bier. Does this mean that in the first case she was dying and in the other she was already dead? That is a question I do not find easy to answer.

However, the difference between the scenes of the death of Meketaten and the familiar funerary scenes in the other tombs is the difference between the specific rendition of an actual event and the typical rendition of typical rites related to an actual event. That is why the representations in the chambers of Meketaten strike us with their uniqueness and originality. All the well-known and repeated rites of procession, crossing the river,

pilgrimage to Abydos and the other holy cities, the rites of interment, etc. are totally absent here, and were not replaced by any conventional Amarna substitute. Instead we find the actual happenings of the occasion accompanied by all the aspects and feelings of grief. The human weakness in face of that unknown power, that man hates and fears, is superbly revealed in the deep sorrow and helplessness of the king and his consort. He, the god and supreme ruler of Egypt, did not find it shameful or undignified to show his human feelings of sorrow, resignation and despair. Although this aspect is completely alien to Egyptian kingship, it is characteristic of the Amarna period.

The moment is so revealing and the artistic treatment is so moving that one may suspect that the artist's objectivity in recording the event is replaced by a personal involvement in the occasion. This, in turn, evokes our personal feelings and stirs the deepest emotions.

4. Queen Tiyi Visits Akhetaten

In the last years of Akhenaten's reign, his mother accompanied by her daughter Beketaten paid a visit to Amarna. This visit was recorded in three scenes in the tomb of Huya, Superintendent of the household of Tiyi.

First, a feast, apparently in her honour, is depicted on the east side

of the south wall[1]. There, the queen-mother is seated on the right while Akhenaten and Nefertiti sit on the left (pl. 46). In front of each is a table piled up with all sorts of food from which they are eating. The king holds a large joint of meat, his wife holds a goose to her mouth, while Tiyi has just put food in her mouth. Each one of them is also supplied with jars of drink. Seated beside the elder queen is Beketaten, while on the opposite side sit two daughters of Akhenaten. Between Tiyi and her son is Huya himself who gives instructions to one of the royal butlers, both shown on a smaller scale. The whole group is bracketed by the sign for heaven in the centre of which is the sun-disk with its radiant rays descending over the royal family and carrying the signs of life.

In two subordinate lines below, are scenes of the background of the hall. On the bottom left is the larder containing food and drinks, from which butlers take supplies to the royal family. We see also attendants and fan-bearers. Two small orchestral groups are playing music. The first ensemble, in the upper line, consists of five females; one plays the harp, two play lutes, and the last a lyre. The second band is foreign. Of its six members, three play lute and lyre. The others are damaged.

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(1) Davies, El Amarna, III, pls. IV-VI, pp. 4-7.

On the other (west) side of the same wall is a corresponding scene which runs in an almost complete parallel with the previous one[1]. We find the same persons, Akhenaten, Nefertiti and Tiyi accompanied by the three princesses as before. But here they are drinking instead of eating. Huya is seen again between the king and his mother, giving instructions, likewise are the attendants, the two bands of musicians and the larder. One addition of special significance is six lamps which indicate that it was evening. In fact, it seems that the second scene completes the first one; that is to say, after the royal family had had their meal they turned to drink in the same hall and in the presence of the same persons as before.

The third scene in which Tiyi is involved is one that shows her taken by her son to pay a visit to her Sun-shade Temple[2]. This scene is portrayed on the east wall of the hall of the tomb of Huya. On the right, the king takes his mother's hand and guides her through one of the courts of the temple. Over them is the customary sun-disk.

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(1) Davies, op.cit., III, pls. VI-VII, p.7.

(2) Ibid., pls. VIII-XII, pp. 7-9. This building was thought by Davies to be the Aten temple, but for its nature and uses see Fairman, City of Akhenaten, III, pp. 200-208.

Holding gifts, Beketaten follows them to the altar and is accompanied by two nurses. Then come fan- and sun-shade bearers. Huya and another official lead the whole procession through a pylon into the inner parts of the temple which are shown on the left in the normal Amarna fashion. The two lines below this main scene show a military escort, more sun-shade-bearers and the royal chariots.

These three scenes connected with the visit of queen Tiyi are treated in the typical Amarna style. In other words, the treatment of the incidents is derived from the Amarna repertoire in dealing with scenes of the private life of the royal family. Here we do not see the actual arrival or reception of the queen, but we suddenly find her in Amarna, involved in the city's daily life. Hence, her appearance having a meal with the royal family is not treated as a unique subject, but has its parallels in other tombs[1].

With regard to the scenes of visiting her Sun-shade Temple, it is most probably the record of an actual event. Therefore we have a specific event in pictorial form. Nonetheless, the event is also treated in the typical Amarna manner. Many scenes in the other tombs[2] show

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(1) Examples will be found in the tomb of Ahmes, Davies, El Amarna, III, pls. XXXIII-XXXIV, and in the tomb of Pentu, ibid., IV, pl. X.

(2) Examples in the tomb of Panehsy, ibid., II, pls. XII-XX, and Meryre I, ibid., I, pl. XXV.

Akhenaten and Nefertiti either driving to the temple or already in the temple's forecourt. In Huya's case, the figure of Nefertiti is replaced by that of her mother-in-law. In conclusion, apart from Tiyi visiting the Sun-shade temple, the evidence for true narrative in these three subjects is very slender indeed.

5. The Capture of Three Criminals

The west end of the south wall and the south side of the west wall of the hall of the tomb of Mahu are occupied by scenes related to his duties as chief of the police in the city of Akhetaten. The upper registers are concerned with the everyday life of such an official; hence we see him inspecting the stores of the guardhouses and the dues of the products brought to the city by the peasants[1].

The series of scenes on the lower two registers of the same walls are also connected with the duties of Mahu's office[2]. Yet, they seem to relate to an actual event (pl. 47). In the cool of an early morning, Mahu was called upon to hear a report, probably about the capture of three criminals, from three of his subordinates. At the left Mahu's house

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(1) Davies, El Amarna, IV, pls. XXIV-XXV.

(2) Ibid., pls. XXV-XXVI, pp. 16-18.

appears in an ink sketch; within it a servant warms his hands over the flames of a brazier, an indication of the cool morning of that day. In front of his house, we see Mahu leaning on a stick while a servant stirs up the flames of fire in a brazier to warm up his master.

The news seems to be of such importance that the chariot was ordered and six policemen were alerted. They rush towards the house of their superior. Mahu then drives off in his chariot, followed by four subordinates towards the house of the vizier where he was supposed to bring the prisoners for judgement. On his arrival he dismounts and reports to the vizier about the capture. Behind him are the three handcuffed criminals, two of whom are Bedawin and one is seemingly an Egyptian. They are guarded by two policemen. The vizier stands leaning on a staff followed by four high officials in front of a porch at the gateway of his house.

In these scenes, we have almost all the elements that would successfully make a pictorial story. We have the characters whom we can easily recognise, whose actions occur in particular places. We even have a clear indication of the time of the event, shown by the braziers. In addition, the gestures of the persons involved are expressive and called forth by the situation. See for example the slightly bent figure of Mahu while addressing the vizier and the authoritative gesture of the latter.

The only difficulty that confronts us here is that we are not quite so sure of the specificity of the event itself. This is due to the fact that arresting criminals is one of the duties of Mahu as chief of the police, especially as so many of his duties are shown on these particular walls. But if this event could be proved actual (and there is nothing serious to challenge this assumption) we would have here a story successfully told in picture[1].

II The End of the XVIIIth Dynasty

Around the sixteenth year of his reign Akhenaten appointed his brother, and son-in-law[2], Smenkhkare as a co-regent. It has been suggested that this appointment was a step taken by the heretic king towards achieving a compromise with the hierarchy of Thebes. It has also been suggested that this new attitude of Akhenaten was bitterly opposed by Nefertiti who, therefore, fell from favour, her name being erased from some buildings at Maruaten in Amarna. As there is no direct proof to support these

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(1) A small hint perhaps favouring our assumption is the presence of a body of high dignitaries who share the vizier's reception of Mahu and his captures. Contrast Mahu discussing the everyday matter of the stores with the vizier and a subordinate only (Davies, op.cit., III, pl. XXIV).

(2) Smenkhkare married Meritaten, the eldest daughter of Akhenaten and Nefertiti, who was previously married to her father.

suggestions her fate will remain a subject of mere speculation. However, the often-quoted graffito in the tomb of Pere (No. 139), written on behalf of Pawah by his brother Thay[1], may point towards a compromise between Amarna and Amun. Accordingly, we know that by the third year of his reign, Smenkhkare commenced a mortuary temple at Thebes. Pawah was the "W^{c}b-priest, Scribe of the divine offerings of Amun" in that temple. This, in addition to the fact that the graffito refers to adoration of Amun and Osiris, proves that Smenkhkare undertook some measures to restore the old religion at Thebes. It must be pointed out, however, that he made Memphis, not Thebes, as his official residence and administrative centre[2].

Since Akhenaten died in the seventeenth year of his reign, and since the highest attested regnal year of Smenkhkare is his third year, as indicated in the graffito, it is presumed that he died in that same year and, therefore, ruled alone for one year only. Relics of his reign are rare. They include a few rings from Amarna, a fragmentary relief from Memphis[3] and probably his own body found in the tomb No. 55 in the Valley

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(1) A. H. Gardiner, JEA 14 (1928), pp. 10-12.

(2) Cf. Fairman, Egypt from Akhenaten's Succession to Horemheb, p. 37.

(3) P. E. Newberry, JEA 14 (1928), p. 8, fig. 3.

of the Kings, wrongly assigned to queen Tiyi[1].

Smenkhkare was succeeded by his brother Tutankhaten who was a boy of eight or nine at that time and who married Ankhesenpaaten, the third daughter of Akhenaten and Nefertiti. Around year three or four of his reign he changed his name to Tutankhamun and his wife changed hers also to Ankhesenamun. This is presumed to be the time that he left Amarna for Memphis and Thebes. Accordingly, Akhetaten was deserted forever and the religious revolution came to a sad end.

On a stela erected near the third pylon at Karnak, Tutankhamun is seen making offerings to Amun and Mut. The inscription on the stela reflects the appalling state of the country: "When His Majesty arose as king, the temples of the gods and goddesses, beginning from Elephantine down to the marshes of the Delta had fallen into decay, their shrines had fallen into desolation and became ruins overgrown with weeds, their chapels as though they had never been and their halls serving as footpaths. The land was topsy-turvy and the gods turned their backs on this land"[2].

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(1) Fairman, op.cit., pp. 33-34, and R. G. Harrison, "An Anatomical Examination of the Pharaonic Remains Purported to be Akhenaten", JEA 52 (1966), pp. 95-119 and pls. XX-XXX.

(2) Gardiner, Egypt of the Pharaohs, pp. 236-237.

When Tutankhamun died, in his tenth year, the funerary ceremonies were performed for him by the "Father of the God" Ay, who succeeded him on the throne of Egypt[1]. Ay did not last on the throne for more than four years: he was succeeded by "The Great Commander of the army of the Lord of the Two Lands", Horemhab. As he was not of royal blood, he married Mutmodjme, probably queen Nefertiti's sister. From the inscription on the back of a statue of Horemhab and Mutnodjme[2] we know that he sailed, doubtless from Memphis, up to Thebes to receive the crowns of Egypt. Then after the ceremonies of coronation were ended he no doubt went back to Memphis which he made capital of his kingdom. Apart from a probable campaign against the Nubians, he spent most of his reign trying to restore order and justice throughout the country. So, he issued a number of decrees which are recorded in a much mutilated stela found in front of the west wing of the tenth pylon at Karnak[3]. Meanwhile, he

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(1) For a discussion of the personality of Ay see C. Aldred, "The End of the El-Amarna Period", JEA 43 (1957), pp. 30-41.

(2) For this text and its parallels cf. Gardiner, JEA 39 (1953), pp. 13-31, and pls. I-II; R. Hari, Horemheb et la Reine Moutnedjemet, Geneva, 1965, frontispiece, and pp. 208-219, and pls. XXXVII-XXXIX, and figs. 60-64.

(3) Cf. K. Pflüger, JNES 5 (1946), pp. 260-276, and pls. I-IV; W. Helck, ZAS 80 (1955), pp. 109-136, and pls. X-XI; Helck, Urk. IV, Heft 22, (1958), 2140-2162. For older references see Porter and Moss, Bibliography, II, p. 62 (62).

restored the temples of the gods which were destroyed during the age of heresy. He also began the construction of the Great Hypostyle Hall in Karnak and built the Ninth and Tenth Pylons of the same temple. In short, during his relatively long reign, about twenty-seven years, Egypt enjoyed a period of stability and prepared herself for another venture in Asia under the Ramesside kings.

The return to Thebes and Memphis and the old religion meant, naturally, the return to orthodoxy in art. The transformation, however, from the Amarna style and themes to the traditional ones took some time, a period of transition that lasted roughly from the reign of Tutankhamun until the accession of Horemhab. In this short period we find a return to the traditional methods of rendering and the older scenes in decoration. Yet, we also notice Amarna influence both in the style and in the subject-matter. In the Memphite tomb of Horemhab[1], although most of the subjects are traditional, we see the remains of a rewarding scene done on the Amarna pattern. Moreover, the way the features of some of the figures are depicted is strongly reminiscent of the Amarna style. The

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(1) The reliefs of this admirable tomb are scattered around many museums, see Hari, op.cit., pp. 69-125, and figs. 20, 22-25, 30-40, and pls. 12-14, 15-20; see also Gardiner, JEA 39 (1953), pp. 3-12.

over-large heads, characteristic of Amarna, are to be noticed in some of the figures in the tomb of Huy[1] and in the tomb of Tutankhamun[2]. The concern in Amarna to render particular places is also found in the tomb of Neferhotep. In scenes dealing with the visit[3] of Neferhotep to Karnak, we see the pylon and obelisk in this temple, its pool, the Nile and the western bank of the river. In addition, the portrayal of the funerary rites in the tomb of Tutankhamun is a subject completely alien to the decoration of a royal tomb; yet it reminds us of the funerary scenes in the chambers of Meketaten. Likewise, a fowling scene showing Ay and his wife in the marshes is depicted in his tomb in the Valley of the Kings[4]. This scene, although very frequent in the private tombs, has never been seen in a royal tomb before or since.

All these are aspects of Amarna influence on the art of this transitional

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(1) Nina Davies and A. H. Gardiner, The Tomb of Huy, London, 1926.

(2) A. Piankoff, The Shrines of Tutankhamon, New York, 1955, pls. 5-7; cf. Smith, Art and Architecture, pl. 141 a.

(3) N. de G. Davies, The Tomb of Neferhotep at Thebes, New York, 1933, pp. 28 ff. and pls. XLI-XLIV; and II, pl. III.

(4) A. Piankoff, "Les peintures dans la tombe du roi Ai", MDIK 16 (1958), pp. 247-251, pl. XXI (2),; cf. also Smith, op.cit., pl. 141 b.

period. However, the complete transformation was accomplished in the time of Horemhab. An example will be found in his royal tomb at Thebes[1] where we find the usual mythological scenes familiar in the royal tombs.

In any event, the influence of the Amarna art did not disappear completely from Egyptian art. There are particular innovations which have come to stay, simply because they suited the mood of the following period, i.e. the Ramesside age. Most important of these innovations is the sense of spatial relationship in the scenes. The treatment of the wall as one entity was exploited to its fullest in the great war scenes as we shall see later.

A. The Royal Reliefs

1. The Beautiful Feast of Opet

This was one of the most important feasts which were celebrated in Thebes during the New Kingdom. Until the reign of Thutmose III it was celebrated during eleven days[2]. Subsequently, the number of days was

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(1) Davis, Maspero, Daressy, and Crane, The Tombs of Harmhabi and Toutankhamanou, London, 1912.

(2) This is according to a feast-calendar found at Elephantine, see Sethe, Urk. IV, 824.

increased to twenty-four. This is known through the calendar in the temple of Medinet Habu built by Ramesses III. According to this calendar the feast began on the evening of the eighteenth day of the second month of the first season (i.e. Paophi بابة) and ended on the twelfth day of the third month of the same season (Hathor هاتور)[1]. But according to Papyrus Harris which recounts the deeds of Ramesses III with regard to the temples, we find that the duration of the feast throughout his reign was twenty-seven days starting from the nineteenth of Paophi until the fifteenth of Hathor[2]. The discrepancy between the two accounts has been explained by the fact that Ramesses III added three days to the feast which the scribe of Medinet Habu calendar neglected or forgot to add while copying from the Ramesseum calendar[3]. Another suggestion, earlier made by Wolf[4], was that the 27 days reckoned in Pap. Harris may include three days for the terminal ceremonies of "Causing the god to re-enter" (his temple).

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(1) H. H. Nelson, et al, Medinet Habu, III, pls. 154-156, lists 28-35, lines 725-859.

(2) W. Erichsen, Papyrus Harris, I, (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, V), Bruxelles, 1933, pl. 17a, lines 5-6; cf. Breasted, Ancient Records, IV, § 237.

(3) H. H. Nelson, U. Hölscher and S. Schott, Work in Western Thebes, 1931-32, Chicago, 1934, pp. 56-57.

(4) W. Wolf, Das Schöne Fest von Opet, Leipzig, 1931, p. 71.

The term ʔipt-rsyt which gave its name to the feast was thought to mean "Southern Ḥarim". Hence it was deduced that for the duration of the feast Amun was visiting his ḥarim at Luxor[1]. But other considerations suggest that the term ʔipt means "castle" or "chapel"; therefore ʔipt-rsyt would mean "Southern Chapel". This is a more logical explanation since we see the god's ḥarim accompanying him in his journey to Luxor and since the temple of Mut is at Karnak not Luxor. In addition, it was the habit of a god to go visiting other temples in his local city or other related gods in other towns. This is a well-known fact and was repeated in the temples of the later period at Edfu, Dendera and Kom-Ombo[2].

However, the series of reliefs which depict the journey of Amun from Karnak to Luxor and the return journey vice versa are engraved on the western and eastern walls of the Processional Colonnade at Luxor temple[3]. The Colonnade itself was built by Amenhotep III, but the

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(1) A. Blackman, Luxor and its Temples, London, 1923, pp. 67 ff.

(2) Schott, op.cit., pp. 66-67.

(3) Fully published by W. Wolf, Das Schöne Fest von Opet, Leipzig, 1931, cf. also Wreszinski, Atlas, II, pls. 189-202.

The earliest example of the Opet scenes is known on the south side of the east wall of the granite doorway (Upper Terrace) at the Hatshepsut temple at Deir el-Bahari, Naville, Deir el Bahari, V, pls. CXXIII-CXXVI.

Cont. over.

(3) (Cont.) Here we probably have two episodes of the return journey from Luxor to Karnak, i.e. the water-procession, and the procession from the quay to the temple. Other scenes of the same festival occur on the blocks of Hatshepsut's sanctuary at Karnak, of which very little has been published; see G. Legrain and E. Naville, L'Aile nord du pylône d'Amenophis III a Karnak, Paris, 1902, pls. XIV-XV; H. Ricke, Das Kamutef-Heiligtum Hatshepsuts und Thutmoses' III in Karnak, Glückstadt, 1954, pl. 13; M. Pillet and H. Chévrier, ASAE 24 (1924), pl. III; 26; E. Otto, Topographie des Thebanischen Gaues, Unt. 16, Berlin, 1952, pp. 23-25; cf. Nims, JNES 14 (1955), pp. 114-115; finally see Sethe, Urk. IV, §§ 378-380.

Better preserved, however, are the extract scenes of this feast engraved with modifications in the temple of Ramesses III at Karnak. Thus, the river procession to Luxor is shown on the exterior west wall, H.H. Nelson and others, Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak (Ramesses III's Temple within the Enclosure of Amun), II, pls. 84-94. The procession from the quay of Karnak to the temple, and the final scene of the king officiating in the chapels of the deities are seen on the interior east wall of the court, ibid., pl. 17b.

Other scenes simply show the great barge of Amun (Userhet) sailing either to or from Luxor. These include: Karnak, Third Pylon, north wing, east face, under Amenhotep III (ship sailing to South, "to Opet"), cf. G. Foucart, BIFAO 24 (1924), pls. I-III; Second Pylon, east face, north wing (Seti I, : ship sailing South), and south wing (Ramesses II; ship sailing North, "from Opet to [Ḳarnak] "), cf. Foucart, op.cit., pls. IV-VI, and P. Barguet, Le temple d'Amon-re, pp. 65, 71; Temple of Khonsu, west wall, interior of forecourt, under Herihor (ship sailing South to "rest in Southern Opet"), Foucart, op.cit., pl. XIII.

reliefs were executed during the reign of Tutankhamun and usurped by Horemhab. In some cases the name of SetiI is found; it is possible that he completed some of the scenes.

The scenes of the journey to Luxor temple occupy the western wall. They move from north to south. Meanwhile the journey to Karnak occupies the eastern wall and the scenes move from south to north. In both cases, then, the orientation of the scenes is made to coincide with real life. In both cases also the events are divided into five episodes, i.e. a service before the barks of the deities in the temple, the barks borne by priests and taken to the river, the procession on the river, the priests carrying the barks from the quay to the temple and finally a service at the temple.

The scenes on both walls are almost identical but for slight variations. The condition of the reliefs is really appalling. Therefore it will be noticed that the corresponding scenes on each wall will serve to complete each other.

I. <u>The Journey from Karnak to Luxor</u>

On the extreme right of the west wall we see the first episode of the series (pl.48 A). This episode presumably took place on the eve of the journey and it is supposed to have occurred in the chapel of each deity. But the artist has shown it symbolically. The scene is divided into two

registers. The upper register showed the chapel of Amun which contained his naos in a bark (both are almost completely lost) which was placed, in turn, on a sledge on a decorated stand. Behind the stand are eight standards topped with the heads of a jackal, a ram, three falcons, an Osiris chest, a was-sign and a royal head. Bouquets of flowers and drinks are on the other side of the stand. Outside the shrine the king (Tutankhamun), whose upper part is entirely lost, is seen consecrating a great offering to the deity. He pours a libation on the offerings with one hand and burns incense with the other.

In the bottom register we see the three barks of the king, Mut and Khonsu respectively. Each bark rests on a sledge on a stand and each bark has a naos on board which must have contained the image of the deity. The bow and stern of the first bark on the left are topped by the head of the king crowned with the Atef-crown, the bow and stern of the second bark are topped with a human head of Mut while those of the last one are topped with the falcon head of Khonsu with the moon disk. Each bark has its own altar piled high with offerings. Further to the left is the temple store-room filled with all kinds of food and drink.

On the left is the gateway of the temple, adorned with scenes of the king offering to Amun and his consort. It is flanked by two great pylons (badly damaged), each having four grooves for the flag-staffs. Out of

this gateway moves the procession carrying the barks, in two registers. The upper one is damaged and the upper parts of the scene are lost. It showed the bark of Amun borne by six files of priests, three or four to each file, under the supervision of two sem-priests recognisable by their leopard-skin garb. A priest purifying (?), another burning incense and a third blowing a trumpet precede the procession. The king whose upper part is lost follows on foot.

The bottom register shows the three barks of Khonsu, Mut and the king carried by priests accompanied by sun-shade-bearers. Each one is preceded by a priest burning incense. All of them are preceded by a drummer, three priests and a trumpeter.

The next episode is terribly damaged. It was devoted to the Nile journey to Luxor. The remains of the journey are a strip of water, representing the Nile and the barge of Mut containing her sacred bark, shown on the extreme right. The remains of the king shown both burning incense before the naos and standing behind it are still to be seen. The boat was towed by another. Of the other boats nothing is left except the ends of the oars. But by comparing this scene with its parallel on the east wall, we may assume that the procession was headed by Userhet, Amun's barge which carried his portable bark as well as the bark of the king. It was followed

by the boat of the queen and a little boat carrying offerings. The boat of Khonsu must once have been at the upper right following the whole procession.

Meanwhile, on the bank of the river we see many groups of people who accompanied, witnessed and helped in the procession. We see from left to right, an officer hailing Amun, an escort of fourteen soldiers, each one holding a shield, a spear and a battle-axe. They are followed and preceded by eight men carrying standards. Then come two royal chariots the grooms of which are hailing the procession. The group of men hauling the barge of Amun are seen doing their job under the supervision of three superiors with clubs. Side by side with them are some men who face the procession while praising the gods and prostrating themselves to kiss the ground. Then come three Nubians dancing with clubs to the beat of a Nubian drummer. They are followed by two Egyptians and five Libyans, who are beating sticks and dance. Each Libyan has two ostrich feathers on his head and wears, like the two Egyptians, a kilt with a triangular forepart. Eight women playing sistra and eight priests clapping their hands then follow. Behind them is another group of men hauling the boat of Mut, followed by negroes (amost entirely lost). Finally, we see nine standard-bearers followed by four Libyans beating sticks and four priests clapping their hands.

When the procession arrives at the quay of Luxor, the portable barks

are carried on the shoulders of the priests to the temple. This scene was divided into three registers. The top one which, according to the corresponding scene on the opposite wall, showed the bark of Amun carried by priests and followed by the king, is totally lost. Of the middle register we have only the lower figures. Therefore the barks, except part of that of Mut, are lost. We see three groups of priests carrying the sledges on which rest the three barks. The middle one is that of Mut followed by that of the king and preceded by the bark of Khonsu. The procession is preceded by a number of priests clapping (?), a drummer and five Libyans beating sticks. Below them are twelve acrobatic dancers and four women with sistra and menats. The bottom register is sub-divided into two lines and shows the activities on the route from the quay to the temple. Eight oxen have been sacrificed and six men carry their limbs to the temple. In the bottom line are eight shrines, each one preceded by a porch raised on two columns. Each one has a pile of offerings attended to by a priest.

Once the procession arrived at its final destination, the barks rest in their shrines and the king consecrates offerings to

them[1]. This scene is also damaged; but it is certain that it was divided into two registers. The upper register must have shown the bark of Amun containing the naos of Amun and most probably that of the king. It must have been preceded by an altar in front of which the king consecrates offerings; but all that has been lost. In the lower register are the two barks of Mut and Khonsu. Each one has its own altar piled up with offerings. Further to the right is the store-room containing food and drink.

II The Return Journey

As the scenes on the east wall move from south to north, the first scene of the series is shown on the extreme right (pl. 48B). It corresponds to the first scene in the other series and shows practically the same subject and the same elements. The king consecrates

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(1) Further offering scenes to Amun and Mut occupy the south-west and south-east cross-walls. That they belong to the Opet festivities in Luxor is possible but not proven. Still less is it evident whether the other scenes of the king before Amun and Mut on the north west and north east cross-walls have anything to do with the beginning and end of the festival. For these scenes, see C. Campbell, The Miraculous Birth of Amen-Hotep III, plates opposite p. 101, pp. 101-2; pp. 111-112; and last plate before p. 127; pp. 127-128.

offerings in front of the bark of A mun which contains not only the naos of Amun but also that of the king. The same standards and bouquets of flowers are seen. The two barks of Mut and Khonsu as well as the store-room are seen on the bottom register. The gateway behind the king is decorated with the king performing rituals for Amun. Here we do not see the pylon of the temple, rather we see seven priests and officials in the gateway waiting for the king. Below is a smaller gateway leading to the store-room. It is noticeable that although this place must correspond to that in the final scene in the first series, the decoration of the two places does not correspond.

The second episode is badly mutilated as a door has been hewn here in a later period. However, the scene is divided into three registers. The top register, which showed the priests carrying the portable bark of Amun, is almost entirely lost. We see only the remains of two priests and the king who followed the procession. He holds a crook in one hand and a sign of life in the other. Although his head is lost we presume that he wears the blue crown. The middle register showed the barks of Khonsu, Mut and the king. That of Khonsu is at the head and is carried by a number of priests preceded by another burning incense. The bark of Mut and its bearers have completely disappeared. A large part of the king is seen on the right. The bottom register is sub-divided into

two rows showing the butchers sacrificing oxen, men carrying limbs to the temple and the remains of the eight shrines with offerings which we met before.

Compared with the corresponding scene on the opposite wall, the next scene is preserved in better condition. Both scenes, however, showed, basically, the same elements with slight variations. The narrow strip of water, representing the Nile, divides the procession into two horizontal parts; one part shows the procession on the water while the other portrays what was going on on the bank.

Beginning the water procession from the extreme left, we find two small boats, each one having a cabin in its bows. On the side of one cabin the king is seen slaying an enemy, while on the side of the other he is represented by a sphinx treading down a foe. These two boats are followed by two more tow-boats which must have towed Userhet, Amun's barge, each manned by 38 rowers on each side. After a large lacuna comes Userhet herself. Apart from the bow and top parts, now lost, she is preserved in good condition. Her hull is decorated with scenes showing the king performing rites before Amun. On board we see the portable bark of Amun resting on a sledge upon a stand and the standards and bouquets of flowers which we saw before. Near the bow is another

shrine which contained the bark of the king (partially damaged). The king is seen behind the two barks while wearing the blue crown and holds the crook and the sign of life. The cartouches here indicate Amenhotep III and not Tutankhamun or Horemhab. In front of the two barks there was another figure of the king burning incense. This figure is now lost and we have hardly more than a hand holding the censer. It is also certain that a third figure of the king was shown rowing at the bow; this figure is totally lost.

Under the shadow of Userhet's stern is a small boat carrying all kinds of offerings. Then follows the queen's barge menned by twenty rowers on each side. At its bow and stern are two cabins adorned with figures of the king wearing the atef-crown and smiting an enemy. Over the queen's barge are two towing boats. They tow the barge of Mut, shown on the extreme right. On board is a beautifully decorated shrine containing the bark of Mut on board of which is the naos with the image of the goddess. The king is seen performing his triple role, rowing, burning incense and 'following' the goddess.

On the bank of the river we see the same groups of people whom we met before. The Nubian dancers, the escort of soldiers with shields, spears and battle-axes, the royal chariots, the standard-

bearers, etc., all are present. But the groups of men hauling the barges are conspicuously absent. This is understandable since the barges were going downstream and their services were not needed.

On their arrival at the quay of Karnak, the barks were carried to the temple. The scene occupies two registers. The top register, almost entirely lost, showed the priests carrying the bark of Amun. They were followed by the king and preceded by priests clapping, a drummer and a third pouring milk. The three other barks of Khonsu, Mut and the king are carried on the shoulders of the priests in the bottom register. They are preceded by clapping priests and Egyptians with feathers in their hair beating sticks. The whole procession, however, moves towards the gateway of Karnak whose jambs are decorated with the usual ritual scenes. The gateway is flanked by two great pylons. Against each pylon stand four masts for the divine flags. In a bottom line we see sacrificial oxen driven into the gateway. They have decorations between their horns[1].

We then come to the last scene in the whole series. Now the barks rest in their own chapels and the king performs the final ceremonies. In the top register is the bark of Amun resting on a stand. The king pours

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(1) Of a kind already attested at Amarna in the tomb of Tutu; v. supra, p. 227.

libation and behind him is an altar piled up with offerings. In the bottom register are the barks of the king, Mut and Khonsu. Each one has its own altar just as in the first scene on the west wall.

The manner in which the Opet feast is recorded reminds us, in many respects, of the Amarna mannerisms. For here we have most of the elements which are capable of producing a successful narrative. The events of the feast move from one particular place to another. The development of the incidents is logical and flows easily one after the other. The scenes are tied to certain places and even the features of the route between the quay and Luxor temple have been shown. The king, the main actor in the event, and many of the priests, Nubian dancers and Libyan musicians are all recognisable and are seen involved in more than one incident. Yet, one thing is lacking, namely the specific nature of the event itself. Admittedly, we know that it records the feast of Opet. But this feast was celebrated each year in the reign of every king. So, which feast of which year is the one recorded here? As the answer could be any feast of any year, the specific quality of the event is demonstrably absent. In fact, what we have here is a specific recording of a typical event; although the recording is shown in multiple scenes, it does not express the story of a particular occasion, but rather explains a typical event in successive episodes. That is why it was easy for

Horemhab to replace Tutankhamun's name by his own and it was also easy for Seti I to finish the uncompleted scenes.

In addition, the legends which accompanied the scenes are not at all specific. They are formal, therefore they do not add anything to the story or provide any sense of actuality for the representation. We must add another thing : although the king is a recognisable character, yet in many scenes his presence is purely symbolic; that is why we see him in one scene performing three separate, and simultaneous rites.

At any rate, this record of the feast of Opet is the earliest of its kind that is adequately preserved to us on this large scale and with such a wealth of details. It acted as a prototype for the manner in which other festival scenes were recorded, i.e. the feasts of Min and Sokar in the temples of the Ramesside period.

2. The War Scenes

One of the treasures found in the tomb of Tutankhamun is a painted wooden casket. Its outer surfaces were covered with gesso then decorated with beautifully painted scenes[1]. On the curved panels of the lid are two

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(1) H. Carter and A.C. Mace, The Tomb of Tut-ankh-amen, I, London, 1923, pp. 110-111, pls. XXI, L-LIV; A.H. Gardiner and N. deG. Davies, Tutankhamun's Painted Box, Oxford, 1962; finally see Nina Davies, Anc.Eg.Paintings, II, pls. LXXVII-LXXVIII.

hunting scenes, a lion hunt on one side and a gazelle hunt on the other. On the larger sides of the casket itself are two battle scenes; one shows the king in his chariot charging against the Nubians, and the other shows him in the same attitude attacking a Syrian enemy. In all cases, the chariot is drawn by two galloping horses, and followed by three lines of other chariots and the bodyguard of the king.

No historical significance is to be attached to these two war scenes. In fact, they are a mere decoration like the hunting scenes, and like the war scene on the chariot of Thutmose IV[1]. However, the real significance of Tutankhamun's scenes lies in the manner of composition. The king is shown in the centre of the picture. He is standing erect and charging against the enemy, whether human or animal. The enemy is shown as a great mass of confusion, helpless, dying, dead or submitting. In spite of the presence of the other chariotry and bodyguard, these do not take an actual part in the battle. Instead, the whole glory is left to the king, the sole actor in the whole drama. This manner of composition was to become the standard way of depicting the great war scenes of the Ramesside period.

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(1) Supra, p. 145.

A campaign against the Nubians is partially preserved on a part of the south side of the west wall of the Great Speos of Horemhab at Gabal el-Silsileh[1]. The scenes were divided into three registers (pl. 49). On the extreme right of the middle register are scanty remains of what seems to have been the actual battle. Two Nubians are seen falling headlong, another dying and a fourth trying to pull an arrow from his own chest. The rest of the scene is completely lost. On the left of the same register, as well as the bottom one, we see Nubian captives bound and led by Egyptian officers towards the "Superintendent of the Army, Pahekakhe" who is standing on the left with a stick in his hand. The top register is occupied by the procession of victory. The king, wearing the blue crown and holding the crook, is seated on his throne and carried by twelve soldiers. Two sun-shade-bearers, a fan-bearer and a priest burning incense accompany the cortège. The procession is preceded by six negro captives and three rows of soldiers, two priests and a trumpeter.

On the extreme left of the middle register there is a scene which is related to the series. On the right is Amen-re with two plumes on his

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(1) Wreszinski, Atlas, II, pls. 161-162, and Breasted, Ancient Records, III, §§ 37-44.

head. He gives the sickle-sword to the king who stands on the left wearing his blue helmet and holding a battle axe in one hand and a wand in the other. Beneath the base-line on which they stand are two prostrate negro captives. Over the king and Amun are two falcons between which is the heb-sed sign. It seems that in this scene the king receives the sword of Amun, symbol of victory, before going out for the battle. If so, this will be the first scene in the series, followed by the actual battle and the bringing of captives and finally the celebrations of victory.

One may notice that there is no date attached to this campaign, and it is not quite evident whether this campaign is real or fictitious. Yet, it is possible that after the political chaos that accompanied and followed the Amarna kings, Horemhab found it necessary to campaign in the South, and probably in the North-east[1], to assert Egyptian influence in these two directions. If so, Horemhab's campaigns will anticipate the other campaigns carried out during the Ramesside period to regain the lost empire. On this view, the reliefs of the Speos would record a specific event. The rendition is a multiple-scene representation of the war, the earliest example that we know of in royal reliefs. But the remains of the scenes do not give any indication of place at all. Even the meeting between

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(1) Breasted, Ancient Records, III, §§ 34-36.

Amun and the king is attached to an abstract base-line and no chapel is shown. Furthermore, the texts are rather general and do not add any concrete details to the representation. On this account, the scenes will be accepted as narrative with all due reserve.

However, there is no reason to attach any particular significance to the small-scale representations of the king. Obviously this must be due to the limitations of the space allocated to the representation.

B. The Private Tombs

As has been mentioned above, the return to Thebes meant the return to the conventional methods of rendition as well as to the traditional subjects of the decoration of the private tombs. It is to be noticed, however, that in the tombs of the end of Dynasty XVIII, we see the beginning of that trend that will become a dominant feature of the tomb decoration in the Ramesside period, namely the emphasis on the religious and underworld scenes rather than the worldly subjects[1]. This, naturally, will be all the more reason for the lack of any rendition

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(1) An example is found as early as the Memphite tomb of Horemhab where we see him involved in agricultural scenes in the Elysian fields, cf., JEA 7 (1921), pl. V.

of particular events; therefore narrative scenes will be very rare indeed. And whenever they occur, they are reminiscent of the early XVIIIth Dynasty traditions and had to be fashioned in a way to fit into the general scheme of decoration.

Scenes of Appointing and Rewarding Officials

From the end of the dynasty, we have only two events which were recorded in private tombs and which have bearings on narrative. One is the appointment of Huy as the Viceroy of Nubia in the reign of Tutankhamun, and his journey to the seat of the Nubian government. The other is the rewarding of Neferhotep and his wife in the palace of Ay (?).

The appointment of Huy (full name, Amenhotep) to the viceroyship of Nubia is portrayed on the north side of the east wall of the hall of his tomb[1]. On the extreme left sits Tutankhamun in the familiar royal kiosk approached by a flight of steps. He wears the blue crown and holds the crook and flail. In the uppermost register we see Huy approaching from the right while wearing a richly ornamented garment and holding a fan. Behind him are four bowing courtiers. He is received by the "Overseer of the Treasury" whose name is not mentioned. He addresses Huy: "Thus speaks

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(1) Gardiner and Davies, Huy, pp. 10-14, and pls. IV-IX.

the king, L.P.H.: there is handed over to thee from Nekhen to Neswt-tawy", that is to say from Hierakonpolis to Napata, below the Fourth Cataract.

More incidents of the installation are depicted on the middle register. On the left Huy is seen having just received a rolled-up scarf (?) and talking to an official. On the right he receives the signet ring of the new office from another official, probably the vizier.

Huy, reproduced in a larger scale, is then seen leaving the palace, followed by two of his sons. He holds two bouquets of flowers in both hands and moves towards the right. He is met by the rwdw, subordinates of the Nubian viceroy and two servants; all are shown on the top row. In the second row are more servants carrying bouquets of flowers, while in the third row march an escort of the "sailors of the king's son of Kush Huy". They are led by an officer carrying a banner. In the bottom row is a lute player followed by three men clapping and six more servants. All of these form the joyful procession that accompanied Huy from the palace.

The final scene on this wall is badly mutilated. From what remains we see Huy pouring myrrh on an offering table, He was followed by his wife, who, but for her arm, is entirely lost. This scene seems to serve a two-

fold purpose; first as a part of the executive series of the appointment of Huy, it shows the thanksgiving scene, possibly in the temple of Amun. Second, by virtue of its place on the wall it stands for the familiar scene of the deceased offering to the gods, as is the case in other Theban tombs.

The south side of the same wall shows the journey upstream to Nubia and Huy performing the duties of his office[1]. On the left he is seen just after leaving the temple of Amun. He is followed by his household and relatives including his mother and two children. No indication of the temple is shown; but according to the legend over Huy's head we learn that this is "the coming from the temple of Amun, after doing what is laudable in his sight, in order to administer that land of Kush by the prince ... Amenhotep". More servants and subordinates are on the bottom row.

The procession moves towards two richly decorated boats placed over each other. The prow of the lower one is directed towards the North, while the prow of the other boat is directed towards the South. Therefore, it has been presumed that the lower boat is moored at Thebes, representing the moment prior to the start of the journey upstream. The

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(1) Gardiner, op.cit., pls. X-XVIII, pp. 14 ff.

people below it, including two kneeling officials, six men and a number of women, have come to pay Huy a farewell. Aboard the upper boat we see Huy sitting in a cabin. This shows the moment of his arrival at the seat of the Nubian government, presumed to be at Faras, 25 miles to the north of the Second Cataract. He is greeted by three lines of officials, dignitaries and priests. They bring food and bags of gold dust.

A black dividing line separates these proceedings from the rest of the scenes on the same wall. They comprise two scenes; the first one shows Huy seated watching the weighing of the revenues of Nubia, especially gold, brought by Nubian men and women. The second scene, separated from the first by another black line, shows Huy standing and inspecting transport boats.

The scenes showing Huy introducing the tribute of the South to Tutankhamun are shown on the south side of the west wall. On the north of the same wall is the reception of the tribute of the North[1].

The scenes of the rewarding of the Chief Scribe of Amun, Neferhotep and his wife Merytre are shown on the south side of the west wall of the

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(1) Gardiner, Huy, pls. XIX-XXX.

hall of his tomb (pl. 50)[1]. King Ay (?) is seen leaning from the balcony of his palace and behind him is the queen. He bestows an honour on Neferhotep who stands below the balcony raising his hands in a gesture of joy and gratitude. His neck is loaded with collars and a royal servant is still decorating him. Present on the occasion are the high officials of the court who are seen standing in the porch, just in front of Neferhotep. Behind the latter are servants carrying gifts while over him are four tables piled up with all kinds of food.

The court of the palace in which these ceremonies took place has two gateways. After receiving the honours we see Neferhotep just after his emergence from one of these gateways. He mounts his chariot and drives off home accompanied by three sais. He is welcomed by a band of female musicians. By the palace gateway some children have gathered and are driven away by one of the guards. On the route home are trees and a man is seen carrying a bundle of fodder while driving an ox.

The other, smaller, gateway of the court leads to the harim quarters. On a balcony stands the queen giving collars to Merytre. The

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(1) No. 49 at Thebes, see Davies, The Tomb of Neferhotep, I, pls. IX-XVIII, pp. 19 ff; II, pl. I.

latter receives the collar while attended to by a number of servants. After her decoration was over, she is seen emerging from the gateway of the ḥarim accompanied by her attendants. Her servants who carry the gifts on the top row, are met by others carrying gifts in return to the queen.

Finally a banquet was held by Neferhotep and his wife in the garden of their house to celebrate this happy occasion. Servants are seen entering the garden with sacks and jars of food and drink. Others are gathering figs. In the garden the guests are enjoying their food and drink while a band of musicians are playing. During the festivity an unfortunate accident happened to one of the lady-guests who seems to have had too much to drink. She is assisted in her dilemma by one of the servants.

Apart from giving appropriate locations to the scenes on the walls coinciding with real life, the scenes in the tomb of Huy do not give any indication of place. The king, not engaged in action, is seated in the traditional Theban kiosk. The visit to the temple is not even shown in the Theban manner, but is only mentioned in the explanatory text. In addition, with regard to the scenes on the south side of the wall, there is no clear-cut division between the specific incidents of the arrival and reception at Nubia and the typical scenes of collecting the revenues, except for the black dividing line.

Nonetheless, the actuality of the event is beyond all doubt. The various episodes which took place during the ceremonies of the appointment and the journey to Nubia are all actual occurrences which must have happened during that particular time. The arrangement of the different episodes flows on the wall in a logical and comprehensible order. This, together with the fact that the characters involved are recognisable, all goes to enhance the claim of these scenes to be narrative.

The scenes in the tomb of Neferhotep are strongly reminiscent of the Amarna traditions. The king is actively leaning from the balcony of his palace and not passively seated in the kiosk. He is accompanied by his wife, who is not active. The rewarded official and the dignitaries of the state are all standing within the limits of the forecourt of the palace. On the other hand, the separate rewarding of Merytre by the queen in the ḥarim quarters is quite a new innovation. It gave the artist an opportunity to render the ḥarim apartments. The scene showing Neferhotep driving home and the features along the route also remind us of Amarna. But whereas in the context of Amarna the specific nature of these scenes was overshadowed by sheer repetition, the scenes of Neferhotep within the context of Thebes escape this fate. Therefore, they are accepted as narrative.

CHAPTER VII

THE RAMESSIDE PERIOD

(Dynasties XIX-XX)

In the last years of his reign, Horemhab raised one of his military caste, namely Pramesse, to the vizierate. The latter was a man of military origins from the north-eastern Delta. As there was no apparent heir of Horemhab, Pramesse succeeded him on the throne of Egypt without difficulty as Menpehtire Ramesses I around 1320 BC. Thus began the XIXth Dynasty and the great Ramesside era. But as he was already advanced in age Ramesses I seems not to have ruled for more than two years[1] (if not less), for one of which he had his son Seti as regent or co-regent.

On the death of his father c. 1318, Seti I assumed the kingship of Egypt. Being conscious of the fact that his reign marked a new era, he adopted the motto whm mswt, 'Repeating of Births'. In a series of campaigns in Palestine and Syria[2] he regained parts of the empire in

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(1) A second year of Ramesses I is attested by a stela at Wadi Halfa, cf. Breasted, Ancient Records, III, §§ 74-79.

(2) Infra, pp. 317-338.

this area. But this brought Egypt into direct conflict with the formidable power of the Hittites who considered Syria as a vital part of their sphere of influence. Both powers, however, seem to have recognised each other's interests in the region. This must be the reason for an apparent treaty concluded between the Hittite king Muwatallis and Seti I[1].

In the meantime, the pressure on the western frontier of the Delta was building up as a result of the new elements which came to settle in Libya and which were destined to cause much trouble for Egypt in the future. Seti I, however, dealt with them in what seems to be a decisive battle shown in the reliefs of Karnak[2].

Seti I ruled for a relatively short time, about fourteen years only, and in his final years he made his son Ramesses regent or co-regent. Upon his death c. 1304 BC., the young prince stepped into his father's place as User-maat-Re Ramesses II. In his long reign which lasted for about 67 years, he showed a tremendous amount of energy externally and

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(1) Hinted at in the treaty between Ramesses II and Hattusilis, ANET, p. 200, cf. also L. Delaporte, Les Hittites, Paris, 1936, p. 129 and Faulkner, Egypt : From the Inception of the Nineteenth Dynasty to the Death of Ramesses III, CAH^2, vol. II, chapter XXIII, Cambridge, 1966, p. 7.

(2) Infra, pp. 324-325.

internally. During his reign the conflict between Egypt and Hatti over Syria/Palestine reached its peak in the notorious battle of Qadesh. But again the two great powers came to realise that they should recognise each other's interests, particularly as new powers hostile to both countries were rising in Assyria in the east, and in the regions in the west. New ethnic elements commonly called "Sea Peoples" were threatening both empires. Therefore another treaty of "peace and brotherhood" was concluded between Hattusilis III, brother and second successor of Muwatallis, and Ramesses II in the twenty-first year of the latter's reign[1]. The peaceful relations between the two countries were fostered by a royal marriage between Ramesses II and a Hittite princess[2].

When Merenptah followed his father on the throne of Egypt c. 1238 BC., the storm had already gathered in the west in the form of a coalition of Libu (Libyans), Kahek and Meshwesh together with Peoples of the Sea, i.e. Sherden, Sheklesh, Lukka, Tursha and Akawasha[3]. Under the leadership of Maraye, son of the king of the Libu, they invaded the

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(1) Translation of both Egyptian and Hittite versions is in ANET, pp. 199-203.

(2) See C. Kuentz, "La "stèle de mariage" de Ramsès II", ASAE 25 (1925), pp. 181 ff.

(3) Gardiner, Egypt of the Pharaohs, p. 270; cf. Faulkner, CAH, p. 19.

Delta in the fifth year of Merenptah's reign. Merenptah met them in Pi-yer, an unidentified place in the Western Delta, and defeated them in a battle that lasted for six hours. An account of this great victory was given in a long inscription at Karnak[1]. Another account of this same battle is given in poetic form on a stela reused from Amenhotep III and found among the remains of Merenptah's temple in western Thebes. It demonstrates the dominant power of Egypt over the countries in the east and west, and mentions, for the first and last time in Egyptian records, the name of Israel[2].

The death of Merenptah, after about ten years' rule, was followed by a short confused period of probable family strife. Of the kings who ruled we know Amenmesses, Seti II, Siptah and queen Tewosert. The duration of reign is not certain for every one of these rulers and even their chronological order has long been disputed[3]. However, two prominent officials seem to have played important parts in this period,

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(1) Breasted, Ancient Records, III, §§ 572-592.

(2) Hence called the 'Israel Stela'; for a recent translation see ANET, pp. 376-378.

(3) Faulkner, CAH, pp. 21-25; cf. also A. H. Gardiner, "Only One King Siptah and Twosre not his Wife", JEA 44 (1958), pp. 12-22.

namely Bay and Irsu the Syrian[1]. The first one played the role of king-maker at the end of the dynasty. The second is described in Papyrus Harris as follows: "Then another time came ... when Irsu the Syrian was with them as chief, having put the entire land in subjection before him"[2].

Out of this confusion emerged a certain Setnakht around the year 1200 BC., and in spite of his short reign, two years, he seems to have restored peace and order in Egypt, thus inaugurating the XXth Dynasty. Perhaps the most important thing that he did was to beget Ramesses III, the outstanding king of Dynasty XX and probably the last great pharaoh of Egypt.

The danger from the new disturbing elements in both west and east reached a climax during the reign of Ramesses III. A fresh coalition between the Libyans, Meshwesh and another tribe was smashed by him in his fifth year. But the real danger came from the east when the

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(1) J. Černý suggests that both Bay and Irsu are one person, see JEA 44, p. 21 and Gardiner, Egypt of the Pharaohs, p. 282.

(2) This magnificent papyrus is transcribed by W. Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I (Bib.Aeg.V), Brussels, 1933; it is fully translated by Breasted, Ancient Records, IV, §§ 182-412. Our translation, however, is from Faulkner, op.cit., pp. 26-27.

invading peoples of Peleset (Philistines), Tjekker, Sheklesh, Sherden, Weshwesh and Danuna destroyed Hatti and swept through Syria towards Egypt carrying their women and children in ox-carts. Ramesses III defeated them decisively in two battles, one naval, in his eighth year. Thus he averted the danger of their invasion. In his eleventh year he achieved another, more permanent victory against the Libyans[1].

As we shall see later[2], the reliefs at Medinet Habu and Ramesses III's small temple in the precinct of the temple of Mut at Karnak, show Ramesses conducting a campaign in Asia. The reliefs of Medinet Habu show the king attacking the Hittite city of Arzawa, storming the fortress of Tunip and capturing a fortress in the land of Amurru. Whether these reliefs record an actual campaign has been doubted on the grounds that owing to the Sea Peoples' invasion these countries ceased to exist as political entities. Thus the reliefs have been explained as anachronistic copies of scenes from the temples of Ramesses II[3]. However,

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(1) Infra, pp. 401-407.

(2) Infra, pp. 407-411.

(3) Faulkner, CAH, p. 29 and Gardiner, Egypt of the Pharaohs, p. 288; cf. also W. Helck, Beziehungen, p. 248 and note 47.

there is always the possibility that after his crushing defeat of the Sea Peoples in year 8, Ramesses III found it necessary to push deep into Syria to secure his victory and regain control of Syria. This task was relatively easy since any local resistance was considerably weakened by the Sea Peoples' invasion. A date for such a campaign is not known, but it has been suggested that it fell after year 11[1]. This campaign is probably connected with the statement of a war against the Edomites of Mount Seir mentioned in the historical section of Papyrus Harris[2]. Being fully aware of all the objections against the recognition of this Syrian campaign, it is still a possibility and should not be dismissed entirely[3].

Medinet Habu reliefs depict also a campaign against the Nubians. Since Nubia had been Egyptianized for a long time, these reliefs are undoubtedly conventional and have no historical reality.

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(1) Drioton-Vandier, L'Égypte, pp. 437 f.

(2) Breasted, Ancient Records, IV, § 404.

(3) Especially as a statue of Ramesses III and a lintel and a jamb of one of his officials at Beth-Shan show Egyptian control of at least Palestine in this period, cf. Porter and Moss, Bibliography, VII, pp. 378-379, cf. also the imposts and temple building in 'Djahi' in Papyrus Harris 4:5 and 9:1-2, Breasted, op.cit., §§ 190, 219.

In spite of this great energy which Ramesses III displayed in the first years of his reign, particularly on the battle-field, his last years witnessed a rapid decline and internal troubles. As a bitter symptom of the disintegrating condition of the country, the old king seems to have been a victim of a conspiracy in his own harem, as a result of which he probably died in year 32 of his reign. By his death Egypt lost her last great pharaoh.

During the reigns of Ramesses III's successors, the state of the country went from bad to worse. Egypt was ruled by a number of weak pharaohs, each one calling himself Ramesses[1] (eight in all) who were incapable of arresting the constant decline. Unfortunately, this state of affairs persisted for a rather long time (c. 1166-1085 BC.), until the dynasty came to an end under the joint regime of Herihor and Piankh, commanders of the army and high priests of Amun, in the South, and of Nesbenebded (Gk. Smendes), possibly the vizier of the North,[2] who

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(1) For a brief survey of the kings of this period cf. J. Černý, Egypt : From the Death of Ramesses III to the End of the Twenty-first Dynasty, CAH^2, vol. II, chapter XXXV, pp. 3-13, 32-40; Gardiner, Egypt of the Pharaohs, pp. 294 ff.

(2) Suggested by K. A. Kitchen, Third Intermediate Period (forthcoming).

resided in Tanis in the Eastern Delta. The latter, however, became the inaugurator of Dynasty XXI.

Abroad, the remains of the Egyptian empire in Palestine which was secured in the wars of Ramesses III quietly evaporated. After him, evidences for Egyptian rule in this region virtually cease; the base of a bronze statue of Ramesses VI from Megiddo is the last substantial monument to be found there[1]. It is also almost certain that the Egyptian settlement in the turquoise mines at Serabit el-Khadim, in Sinai, was abandoned just after Ramesses VI since his name is the last one to occur there[2].

After the Egyptian repulse of the Sea Peoples, the Peleset appear to have settled in Philistia, to which they gave their name, as nominal vassals of Egypt. After Ramesses VI Egypt's official claims to over-lordship seem to have lapsed - she probably no longer had the ability to mount Asiatic wars and the peoples of Palestine were left to fight out their own destinies. In Nubia, a parallel withdrawal of Egyptian

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(1) Černý, op.cit., p. 12.

(2) Gardiner, Peet and Černý, The Inscriptions of Sinai, II, p. 192, nos. 290-293.

rule apparently occurred during the reign of Ramesses XI[1]. Therefore, Egypt was restricted to her own natural boundaries by the end of the last of the Ramessides.

The collapse of the New Kingdom is in fact due to a number of inter-related factors. Hitherto Egypt was still living in the Bronze Age, whereas iron was now known and used by other powers. This may have been a handicap for the Egyptian forces, particularly as Egypt was in direct conflict with new elements so armed. Although it is true that the Sea Peoples were repelled from Egypt, the cost must have been very high indeed and the country must have suffered economic distress. And although these forces had failed in their attempts to invade Egypt herself, they settled in neighbouring regions and those in Libya were a constant source of trouble to her.

It is true that Egypt could have coped with this external situation had she been internally sound. Unfortunately this was not the case. After the return from Amarna to the old capitals, the rulers of Egypt did their best to satisfy the hierarchy everywhere. Therefore, the income

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(1) H. W. Fairman, "Preliminary Report on the Excavations of Amarah West, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1938-39", JEA 25 (1939), p. 144

that accrued to the temples was increasingly swollen by royal concessions at the expense of the national wealth. This, of course, resulted in the expansion of the power of the hierarchy. As long as the throne was occupied by a strong pharaoh, the power of the priesthoods was kept in check. Yet, even under a strong king like Ramesses III, the wealth of the temples as shown in Papyrus Harris is overwhelming indeed[1]. Moreover, as the successors of Ramesses III were remarkably weak kings, the reins of the state passed into the hands of other persons, such as viziers, commanders of the army or high priests. That is why we meet such prominent figures as Roy, Amenhotep, both high priests of Amun, Panehsy viceroy of Nubia and Herihor, commander of the army and eventually the high priest of Amun who assumed the royal titles before his death. All these persons, and many others, played important roles during the final decades of the XXth Dynasty.

More damaging, perhaps, was the inefficiency and corruption of the Egyptian administrative machinery. Many documents from this period, on ostraca and papyri, tell tales of the appalling condition of

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(1) Breasted, Ancient Records, IV, §§ 190 ff.

the country. Hence we hear of the theft of temple rations[1], tomb robberies[2], and even of strikes among the workers of Deir el-Medinah for their rations[3]. To make things worse low Niles brought consequent famines, reflected in phrases like "The year of hyenas when men starved"[4], and in the rocketing price of grain[5]. Mercenary troops and infiltrating Libyans went plundering and terrorising[6].

All these factors, combined together, helped in the rapid and

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(1) T.E. Peet, "A Historical Document of Ramesside Age", JEA 10 (1924), pp. 116-127. The text is published by A. H. Gardiner, Ramesside Administrative Documents, London, 1948, pp. 73 ff.

(2) The papyri Abbott, Amherst were fully published by T.E. Peet, The Great Tomb-robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty, 2 vols., Oxford, 1930, plus J. Capart and A.H. Gardiner, Le papyrus Léopold II aux Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire de Bruxelles et le papyrus Amherst à la Pierpont Morgan Library de New York, Bruxelles, 1939, cf. JEA 22(1936), pp. 169-193.

(3) W.F. Edgerton, "The Strikes in Ramses III's Twenty-ninth Year", JNES 10 (1951), pp. 137-145; Wilson, Burden, pp. 275-278.

(4) Peet, "The Supposed Revolution of the High Priest Amenhotep under Ramesses IX", JEA 12 (1926), p. 258.

(5) J. Černý, "Fluctuations in Grain Prices during the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty", Archiv Orientální 6 (1934), pp. 173-178.

(6) Wilson, op.cit., p. 281, and Peet, JEA 12, pp. 257-258.

progressive disintegration of the central authority under the crown and throughout the country, ending in the eventual collapse of the New Kingdom.

The practice adopted by the kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty, particularly those of the post-Amarna period, of having their residences in the North, Memphis, rather than the South, Thebes, was widely followed by the Ramesside kings. To be sure, the decree of Ramesses I inscribed on the stela of Wadi Halfa[1], was issued from Memphis. It was Seti I, however, who seems to have moved the royal residence to the Eastern Delta in the old Hyksos capital Hat-waret (Avaris) where he built a palace[2]. From the time of Ramesses II onwards, Hat-waret came to be called Per-Ramessu, 'The House of Ramesses', and became the official residence of the kings of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties. Per-Ramessu was previously identified with Tanis[3], but latterly there has been a tendency to identify it with the site Khata'na-Qantir, about eleven

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(1) Supra, p. 293, note 1.

(2) M. Hamza, "Excavations of the Department of Antiquities at Qantîr (Faqûs District)," ASAE 30 (1930), pp. 31-68.

(3) Gardiner, Onomastica, II, pp. 171*-175*.

miles south of Tanis[1].

The preference for Per-Ramessu as an official residence was due to practical reasons since it was the nearest najor city to the North-eastern region of the empire where the kings carried out their political and military activities. However, Memphis seems to have retained its importance as the administrative capital while Thebes remained the religious capital of the empire.

A. The Royal Reliefs

There is no doubt that from the whole of Egyptian history, the richest wealth of standing monuments belongs to the Ramesside period. This, in spite of the fact that the buildings belonging to this era in Lower Egypt have either entirely disappeared or been reduced to fragmentary blocks scattered here and there. This is not the place to enumerate the building of this epoch all over Egypt; it will suffice to give a number of examples. The great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak was built by Seti I and

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(1) Cf. Hamza, op.cit., p. 64, and Labib Habachi, "Khataʿna-Qantîr: Importance", ASAE 52 (1954), pp. 443-558. For a survey of references, see K.A. Kitchen, Ancient Orient and Old Testament, London, 1966, pp. 57 ff. and footnotes, 4, 5, 7-9, to which add J. van Seters, The Hyksos, pp. 127-151.

completed by Ramesses II[1]. Among all the temples of Egypt the L-shaped temple of Seti I at Abydos stands in a unique position regarding reliefs, colours and state of preservation[2]. From all the kings of the Ramesside period, if not all periods, Ramesses II claims the lion's share with regard to buildings. Besides adding many features, pylons and courts and completing already standing temples[3], he built or excavated several temples of his own in Memphis, Abydos[4], Thebes and throughout Nubia. Suffice to mention his temple in Western Thebes (commonly called the Ramesseum[5]), and his temples at Beit el-Wali[6],

(1) Porter and Moss, Bibliography, II, pp. 14 ff. and P. Barguet, Le temple d'Amon-re, pp. 54-78.

(2) Published by A.M. Calverley and M.F. Broome, The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos, 4 vols., Chicago, 1933-1958; for other publications see Porter and Moss, op.cit., VI, pp. 1 ff.

(3) For example Ramesses II added a forecourt and two pylons to Luxor temple, completed the great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak and added two fore-courts and a pylon to the temple of Seti at Abydos.

(4) Porter and Moss, op.cit., VI, pp. 33-41.

(5) Ibid., II, pp. 149-157.

(6) Roeder, Der Felsentempel von Beit el-Wali, Le Caire, 1938.

Wadi es-Sebu'a[1], Ed-Derr[2] and Abu Simbel[3]. The greatest monument of Ramesses III is his stupendous temple at Medinet Habu[4].

The preservation of all these great buildings provides us with a far wider range of royal reliefs than in any previous period. Thus a study of the development of the style throughout the Ramesside age is possible. Moreover, new and interesting scenes became available.

As indicated above, the return from Amarna to Thebes and the old gods meant the return to the traditional style in rendering. This style had been developed and reached its climax in the reliefs of the middle of the XVIIIth Dynasty. We also indicated that the return to this traditional style was gradual. In fact the reactionary movement in style reached its peak in the time of Seti I. The reliefs of his temple at Abydos are the best example. They are overrefined, elegant and exquisite. The lines are sensitive and pure; they show excellent

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(1) Porter and Moss, op.cit., VII, pp. 53 ff.

(2) A. M. Blackman, The Temple of Derr, Le Caire, 1913.

(3) Porter and Moss, op.cit., VII, pp. 95 ff.

(4) Fully published by Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Medinet Habu, 7 vols., Chicago, 1932-1963; some texts are translated by W. F. Edgerton and J. A. Wilson, Historical Records of Rameses III, Chicago, 1936.

craftsmanship. The colours are applied in masses, yet with regard to the garments of Seti, they are transparent. Moreover, the fine details of the figures and objects depicted are shown in an admirable fashion.

Following this climax in Seti's reliefs, a falling-off in quality was inevitable. This decline started, in fact, with the reliefs of Ramesses II himself. This king, as will be seen, was concerned most of all with huge and overwhelming sculpture rather than refinement or sensitivity. In this regard, it is worth while comparing the reliefs of Seti I at Abydos with the reliefs of Ramesses II in the same temple[1]. In the latter, the scenes are executed in sunk-relief sculpture, the quality of which is coarser and is certainly far inferior compared with his father's. This roughness in relief is in fact a symptom of the general decline which marked the quality of art throughout the latter part of the XIXth Dynasty and which continued in the following period. Nonetheless, there is one consolation with regard to the royal reliefs. Mundane subjects, like the war scenes, were depicted in a highly vivid manner the like of which is very rare before or after.

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(1) See J. Capart, Le temple de Seti Ier, Bruxelles, 1912, pls. IV, V, XLVIII, XLIX. Also in Ramesses II's temple there, see Medinet Habu, III, pl. 169.

Considering the subject-matter of the temple reliefs, we must emphasise from the outset that the main theme is religious. Endless rites performed by the king in front of different deities occupy the walls of the temple, wall after wall, in an apparently dull and repetitive manner. Admittedly, some of these scenes can constitute a consecutive order of the daily ritual in the temple[1], yet they are typical statements of pure rituals carried out day after day. The episodes lack all the qualities of specific events. In fact the artist never attempted this.

Other religious scenes concerned with the annual festival processions of particular deities frequently occur on the walls of the temples of this period. We have already discussed in detail one of these festivals, namely Opet. Other festivals, e.g. of Min and Sokar, are depicted on other New Kingdom temples. The festival of Min seems to have been more popular than that of Sokar since we have more of its representations

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(1) Best example of the daily rituals is given in the shrines of Isis, Osiris and Horus in the temple of Seti I at Abydos. These rituals have been studied by A.M. Blackman, "The Sequence of the Episodes in the Egyptian Daily Temple Ritual", JMEOS (1918-1919), pp. 27-53.

in many temples[1]. The best preserved example of the episodes of the Min festival is in the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. The episodes occupy the upper register of the interior north and east walls of the second court. There we see first Ramesses III carried in a palanquin, leaving the palace in a procession to "the house of his father Min". On his arrival the king is seen burning incense and pouring libation on an offering table in front of a shrine containing the ithyphallic figure of Min. Then the statue of the god is shown borne by 22 priests in a procession headed by the king, the queen, a white bull (the sacred animal of Min) and a number of priests carrying the statues of the royal ancestors. Their destination is a resting place called htyw. Once the procession has reached this place, the statue of Min is put in a shrine and the king makes an offering. This was followed by the rite of cutting the spelt and finally the releasing of four geese to the four cardinal points[2].

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(1) The festival of Min is studied by H. Gauthier, Les fêtes due dieu Min, in RAPLH, vol. II, Le Caire, 1931; the reliefs of Medinet Habu are fully published in Medinet Habu, IV, pls. 196 (A & B), 197-208. Scenes of the same festival elsewhere are published in ibid., pls. 209-217; cf. also C. J. Bleeker, Die Geburt eines Gottes, Leiden, 1956, pl. III.

(2) This sequence for these three final rites I have worked out in harmony with the programme text in preliminary studies. It differs from Gauthier's, who depended on the apparent sequence of the representations.

From this brief description we may note that this is a typical representation of a typical festival which was celebrated at the beginning of Pakhons (ﭙﺘﺸﻨﺲ) each year. The repetition of the scenes from one temple to another strips the scenes of Medinet Habu of any potential specificity, particularly as it is certain that the Medinet Habu scenes were an almost exact copy of the scenes of Ramesses II at the Ramesseum. Moreover, although the main scenes are similar in nature to the Opet ones, the former lack all the signs of popular festivity which we see at Luxor. Besides, the locations in the latter had more specific qualities than the locations at Medinet Habu. In fact the scenes in Medinet Habu are more like rituals than anything else. Hence, all bearing on narrative is absent. This same rule will apply to the scenes of the Sokar festival which occupy the upper register of the east and south walls of the same court[1].

Another category of reliefs which occupy relatively large spaces of the wall surfaces of the Ramesside temples is the war scenes. With some few previous exceptions, this subject on this large scale is new with regard to temple decoration. However, as this subject deals mainly

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(1) Medinet Habu, IV, pls. 218-226.

with historical evidence, we should expect a fair amount of specific happenings, hence narrative.

The War Scenes

Why is it that all of a sudden we find large spaces on temple wall-surfaces occupied by war scenes? This is a question that merits investigation before dealing with particular examples of war scenes. In Chapter V we noticed an increasing interest on the part of Egypt in the outside world[1]. This interest, which was due to the new international role that Egypt played as an imperial power, was exhibited within the narrowest limits, e.g. the reliefs of Punt in the Deir el-Bahari temple, the annals of Thutmose III's wars in Syria and his botanic garden, both at Karnak. But apart from the traditional heraldic figure of the king smiting enemy chieftains accompanied by topographical lists of conquered lands, and the decorative battle scenes on the chariot of Thutmose IV and the casket of Tutankhamun, we have no scenes showing the king engaged in an actual battle throughout the whole of the XVIIIth Dynasty. The first clear case in which the king could have been depicted

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(1) Supra, p. 147.

engaged in a battle is the war scenes of Horemhab at Gebel el-Silseleh.

Is it pure coincidence that the war scenes are absent from the temples of the XVIIIth Dynasty, that is to say that they once existed but are now lost? We lack almost entirely the reliefs of the destroyed funerary temples of such warriors as Thutmose III, Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV[1]. But we also have the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, the Festival Hall and two pylons of Thutmose III at Karnak and the temple of Amenhotep III at Luxor. Hence, the absence of the war scenes from the XVIIIth Dynasty temples is not entirely due to coincidence.

We pointed out above[2] that any change in the themes of the temple relief should be gradual. Therefore we did not expect to find war scenes in the XVIIIth Dynasty. Although the war scenes of Thutmose IV and Tutankhamun could fill part of the gap, they are not sufficient to give a satisfactory explanation for the sudden expansion of the war scenes in the XIXth Dynasty. In my opinion the reason must be sought in

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(1) Cf. supra, pp. 145-6 and note 2, for possible war scenes of Thutmose II and III.

(2) Supra., pp. 142-143, 146.

the circumstances that surrounded the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty and the emergence of the XIXth.

There is no doubt that the new concepts brought in by the Amarna movement had a damaging effect on the position and stature of Egyptian kingship. True, according to Amarna dogma, the king's person was still divine; but the human side of the king was clearly demonstrated when the artists showed him in his characteristic features, involved in the trivia of daily life. This is an entirely new attitude that no previous king had ever dreamed of adopting. Although in our view the Amarna attitude was original and more truly human, from the Egyptian point of view it was damaging to the basic idea of kingship.

Furthermore, we must remember that the Amarna movement was thought of and carried out by a king. Therefore, when it failed in the faceof the ecclesiastical resistance and when it finally capitulated, it was in a way a capitulation of the royal authority to the ecclesiastical power. In ultimate result, the Amarna movement had dealt a great blow to the authority and prestige of kingship in Egypt.

On the surface, as might be expected, nothing has changed. The king is still the god, son of gods and the supreme ruler of Egypt and the empire. He is still seen performing the different traditional

rituals to his fathers the gods in their temples. But in actual fact his power had been greatly undermined and the belief in his divinity had been shaken. In a rather defensive manner, he sought to assert his power and stress his effective godhead. One of the ways of displaying his valour was on the battle-field. Therefore, the traditional theme of the king smashing the heads of his enemies was expanded to show the king in the act of achieving victory in the field. It is true that the result of any one of his depicted wars was a foregone conclusion, i.e. victory, nevertheless it was important to show him actually working for this victory. And after the idea of the king being involved in actual, rather than symbolic, events had become familiar to the Egyptian eye during the Amarna age, it now became possible for the king to be seen involved in actual events. Thus, to my mind, it is no mere coincidence that the first war scenes involving the king belong to Horemhab, an immediate successor of the Amarna kings, in his Speos at Gebel el-Silseleh.

Bearing all these factors in mind, we now proceed to investigate the different war scenes in the Ramesside period.

1. The Wars of Seti I

The tasks of restoring the Egyptian empire in Asia and securing the Egyptian boundary in the west fell on the able shoulders of Seti I who conducted a series of campaigns in the east and west. These campaigns are recorded on the exterior north wall, and extend onto the north side of the east wall, of the great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak[1]. The north wall is divided into two halves by a central doorway. The actions which are depicted on both sides of the wall are arranged in a deliberate general movement towards the doorway. In other words the battles and events that happened in distant lands occupy the extreme ends of the wall, then the action of bringing prisoners and presenting them together with spoils to Amun in Egypt are depicted on both sides of the doorway.

The scenes are distributed in three horizontal registers (pls. 51-55), the topmost of which is completely lost with the exception of one scene (the capture of Qadesh) on the extreme right of the west side. It is certain that the events on the east side of the wall (together with those on the east wall) chronologically precede those on the west side. However, there is still considerable doubt whether the registers on the eastern side

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(1) Wreszinski, Atlas, II, pls. 34-53a; the scenes are briefly described and the texts are translated in Breasted, Ancient Records, III, §§ 80-156.

display the events of one campaign or whether each register shows a separate campaign. This question will be investigated later in detail[1], meanwhile we will proceed to give a general account of the scenes beginning with the eastern portion.

According to the texts the first campaign, on the bottom register, was directed against the Shasu, Semitic tribes in Sinai and Southern Palestine, who planned a rebellion. Seti took the ancient military road starting at Tjaru, two miles eastward of the modern El-Qantara[2]. It seems that he deliberately took this way so that he could secure the wells en route to Palestine. On his way, he got engaged in a battle with the Shasu in the middle of the desert (pl. 52). He is seen in his chariot shooting an arrow at the miserable foe. The latter are shown in a desperate situation, dead, dying or surrendering. They form a great heap of human bodies on the left that counterbalances the victorious king and his chariot on the right. The scene contains three wells and three fortresses which are depicted on a small scale in conventional fashion. These are the wells and fortresses en route to Palestine.

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(1) Infra., pp. 326-335.

(2) A. H. Gardiner, "The Ancient Military Road between Egypt and Palestine", JEA 6 (1920), pp. 96-116 and pls. XI-XIII.

After this, Seti pushed forward until he reached 'the city of (Rafa)?'[1] As there is no battle scene here, this city seems to have stayed loyal to Egypt. However, we see Seti (pl. 52) resting on his chariot while receiving homage from the city elders who brought their booty. The city itself is shown as a typical Syrian fort built on a hill. More desert wells and fortresses are included in the scene in small scale[2].

The climax of the events on this register is shown on the north side of the east wall. Here (pl. 51) we see Seti in his chariot conducting a great massacre of the people of the city of Pakanaan (Gaza?[3]). The city is portrayed in the usual manner, a fortified town on a hill. Between the city and the attacking king are the scattered bodies of the defenders depicted in great confusion. On the extreme left a woman wails while her child points towards the king. Over them are two men in distress talking to each other and a man running uphill. In front of the fort are two men submitting, one raising his hands while the other

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(1) Ibid., pp. 104, 113.

(2) Breasted puts this scene as the beginning of the campaign and calls it "March through Palestine".

(3) Gardiner, op.cit., p. 104, and Faulkner, CAH, p. 5.

breaks his lance. A third man is helping another to climb the hill.

Over the king is a text that runs "Year 1, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmare (Seti I). The destruction which the mighty sword of pharaoh, L.P.H., made among the vanquished Shasu from the fortress of Tjaru to Pakanaan ...", etc.

Pakanaan seems to have been the remotest town which Seti reached on this register. Going back to the right hand part of the north wall, we see him driving in his chariot towards Egypt (pl. 53). He is followed by a prince and a number of prisoners. Over him is the text, "Year 1 of ... Seti. One came to say to his majesty: 'The vanquished Shasu, they plan rebellion. Their tribal chiefs are gathered together rising against the Asiatics of Kharu. They have taken to cursing and quarrelling, each of them slaying his neighbour, and they disregard the laws of the palace". In front of the span are two rows of captives. The scene is in the neighbourhood of a canal called "Ta-ndit", 'the dividing water', i.e. which divides Egypt from the desert of Asia. The fortress of Tjaru is on both sides of the canal. On the right side, the Egyptian side, are two lines of "prophets, nobles and officials of the South and North", who welcome the victorious king on his return.

The next episode must have taken place in Egypt in one of the

shrines of Amun. The deity is seen seated while the king stands in front of him presenting the spoils, some of which we have seen at Rafa. He also leads two lines of bound prisoners. Those of the upper line are said to be "chiefs of countries which knew not Egypt, which his majesty carried away, from his victories in the country of Retenu the wretched ...", etc. The prisoners on the bottom line are said to be "captivity which his majesty carried off from the Shasu whom his majesty himself overthrew, in year 1 of whm mswt". As for the spoils, they are offered to Amun "at the return from the country of Retenu".

Moving to the middle register, we find that the series of events appears to begin on the extreme left of the north wall where Seti I is depicted capturing the city of Yenoam in Palestine (pl. 52). The king (largely damaged) is in his chariot charging against the enemy. He holds two enemies with one hand; the other hand is lost. The enemy here was using chariotry in his war. The chariots are fleeing in great confusion and panic towards the city, trampling down and throwing out the Asiatic warriors. The city is shown on the left in the conventional manner. Its people are surrendering by raising their hands or burning incense. Around the town the artist drew the landscape of a wood in which some men are hiding. No texts are preserved except the name of the fortress reading "Town of Yenoam".

Before turning his face to Egypt, Seti seems to have pushed further north where he received the homage of the chiefs of Lebanon (pl. 51). This scene is on the north side of the east wall. Seti stands receiving a number of Lebanese chieftains who are introduced by an Egyptian fan-bearer. Over them is the legend: "The great chiefs of Lebanon". Behind them are four men felling cedar trees for the use of the Egyptian king. Behind the latter his chariot awaits. Between the legs of the horses is a fortress called "Town of Kader".

Going back to the north wall, we find the king facing right, i.e. toward Egypt, binding his captives after the battle (pl. 52). He then carries some and drags others in two lines towards his chariot, waiting on the right. In the next scene Seti is already in Egypt. He introduces a great number of spoils and two lines of Syrian captives to the Theban Triad, Amun (seated), Mut and Khonsu (both standing). The king is said to be making "Presentation of the tribute of his majesty, to his father Amun at his return from Retenu, the wretched; consisting of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, turquoise, [. . .], and every splendid costly stone".

Moving to the western side of the doorway (pl. 54)[1], we also

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(1) The two heraldic scenes showing figures of the king smiting prisoners in front of Amun on the two sides of the doorway are typical scenes and are not directly connected to these series of reliefs.

here describe the scenes upwards for reasons that will be mentioned later[1]. The bottom register is devoted to a war against the Hittites (pl. 55). On the extreme right, we see Seti in his chariot engaged in the first major and direct war with the Hittites that is pictured in Egyptian reliefs. The king is shown in the usual attitude standing victorious in the chariot while his span is trampling down the enemy. The Hittites are shown defeated, pierced by the arrows of the king, their chariots fleeing in panic. They are heaped up in a pyramidal mass to counterbalance the triumphant pharaoh. In the middle of their confusion arises a slightly larger figure pierced with arrows; it seems that he is their leader. Over the battle is a relatively long legend in which we read: "... smiting the Asiatics, beating down the Hittites, slaying their chiefs, overthrown in their blood, charging among them like a tongue of fire, making them as that which is not". After the battle was over, the king is seen about to step into his chariot, looking back on the battle-field. He drags two lines of captives in their chariots and three captives on foot. Over them is a legend mentioning that "The victor returns, when he has devastated the countries. He has smitten the land of Hatti, causing the cowardly rebel to cease". Preceding his

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(1) Infra, pp. 330-335.

chariot are two more lines of captives.

In the next scene we see the presentation of Hittite spoils and prisoners to Amun. The latter is seated in a shrine and behind him stand Mut/Bast, Khonsu and Maat. The king is standing outside the shrine leading two lines of Hittite captives over whom is written: "great chiefs of Retenu, the wretched, whom his majesty carried off in his victories in the country of Hatti".

The middle register shows two pitched battles on the western front, against the Libyans (pl. 55). Like all the events on this side of the wall, the Libyan war is undated. However, this campaign shows that the great pressure which was building up and finally exploded during the reigns of Merenptah and Ramesses III had already begun under Seti I.

On the extreme right Seti is attacking the Libyans in his chariot. He holds a bow in one hand and is about to smite a Libyan chieftain with a sickle-sword in the other. The Libyan warriors are heaped up on the right. To the left is another scene in which we see Seti trampling down a Libyan chieftain and about to pierce another with a lance. For obviously practical reasons the figure of the Libyan chieftain is as big as that of the king and repeats the pose of the pharaoh but in reverse.

The text in front of the king mentions "Smiting the chiefs of Tehenu". Behind the chieftain and behind the king are two figures of royal princes. The latter figure is said to be that of Ramesses, definitely the famous Ramesses II. But it has been pointed out that these two figures were carved over older ones which in turn had been secondarily inserted[1].

After this we see Seti returning to Egypt in the same manner as on the opposite side of the wall. He is in his chariot, facing towards the doorway and driving two lines of captives taken as "living prisoners in the country of Tehenu by the might of his father Amun".

In the next episode we find the familiar scene of the king presenting two lines of the "chiefs of the countries of Tehenu" to the Theban Triad, Amun, Mut and Khonsu, shown within a shrine. The king also presents the spoils of the war "consisting of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, turquoise and every splendid costly stone". It will be noticed that the text over the upper line of prisoners mentions Retenu and Asiatics, and this does not mean anything rather than general boasting on behalf of the king.

When we move to the topmost register we find ourselves in Syria

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(1) Breasted, Ancient Records, III, §§ 123-131, 133.

again. Unfortunately the scenes on this register are completely lost; save for one on the extreme right. Here we have the capture of the city of Qadesh on the Orontes (pl. 55). The king (now lost) is charging in his chariot on the left. The fortified city stands on a hill on the right. Its defenders show signs of surrender. A text on the city mentions: "The charge which pharaoh, L.P.H., made to devastate the land of Qadesh, of (or:and) the land of Amurru". Between the city and the charging king are the enemy and their chariots in the usual panic and confusion. Further to the right, below the city, is a herdsman who drives his cows into a wood in terror while looking back in the direction of the battle. This detail adds a touch of realism to the scene. The rest of the scenes, which must have shown the return to Egypt and the presentation of prisoners and spoils to Amun, are lost.

The question of the chronological sequence of the events depicted on the north wall of Karnak, particularly those on the east side, poses something of a problem. In dealing with them, Breasted suggested the possibility that each register recorded a separate campaign, noticing that in the bottom register Seti returned to Egypt by land, "whereas he would more probably return by sea (as did Thutmose III), had he pushed directly from the Shasu war into Syria, and gained possession

of the Phoenician coast"[1]. This opinion was endorsed by Sir Alan Gardiner[2].

This looked the more logical opinion until A. Rowe published a stela in 1929 which he had found at Beisan (Bethshan) dated "Year 1, third month of the Summer, day 10" of the reign of Seti I[3]. The inscription on this stela mentions that "On that day one came to tell his majesty that the vile foe who was in the town of Hamath had collected to himself many men and was taking the town of Bethshan, having made alliance with them of Pella (Eg. Paher), and he would not permit the prince of Rehob to come out. His majesty sent the first army of Amun Mighty-of-Bows to the town of Hamath, and the first army of Pre Rich-in-Valour to the town of Bethshan and the first army of Sutekh Victorious-of-Bows to the town of Yenoam. And it came to pass that they fell to

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(1) Breasted, Ancient Records, III, p. 40, note c.

(2) JEA 6, pp. 100 ff.

(3) A. Rowe, Museum Journal, University of Pennsylvania 20 (1929), pp. 88-93, and The Topography and History of Beth-Shan, I, Philadelphia, 1930, pp. 24-29 and pl. 41, cf. also Wilson in ANET, pp. 253-254.

the might of his majesty ...", etc.[1]

According to this inscription, it is clear that in the first year's campaign Seti despatched three divisions of his army to overrun the plain of Esdraelon and to capture a number of cities, one of which was Yenoam. Now, as the capture of this latter town was recorded in the reliefs of the middle register, Faulkner concluded that the scenes on the bottom and middle registers both record the events of the first year's campaign[2].

The first obstacle in the way of accepting Faulkner's conclusion is the very manner in which the scenes were recorded on the registers. We may recall that the events on each register stood as one independent entity, battles in the field, return in triumph and presentation of spoils and prisoners to Amun. This method was followed on both sides of the wall. As will be seen, each register on the west side records a separate

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(1) Another, but smaller, stela of Seti I was also found in Bethshan. Its date is lost. However, it refers to further activities in this region. See. W. F. Albright, BASOR 125 (1952), pp. 24-32, improving on B. Grdseloff, Une stèle scythopolitaine du roi Séthos Ier, Cairo, 1949.

(2) R. O. Faulkner, "The Wars of Sethos I", JEA 33 (1947), pp. 36-37, and CAH, pp. 6-7 .

campaign. Thus it may become very difficult to believe that the case was otherwise on the eastern side.

Secondly, it is noticeable that in the scene of presenting the captives to Amun on the bottom register, they are said to be from Retenu (upper line) and Shasu (lower line). The scene of the presentation of captives to Amun on the middle register mentions Retenu only without any hint of Shasu. Thus, it can be deduced that while the bottom register is concerned with a campaign against the Shasu and Syrians[1], the middle register is concerned with a campaign against the Syrians only.

Thirdly, while the Bethshan stela mentions Hamath and Bethshan as well as Yenoam, there is no mention at all of any Phoenician towns. Meanwhile, the reliefs show that the capture of Yenoam was followed (or perhaps preceded?) by the march into Lebanon, but there is no mention at all of Hamath, Bethshan or the towns of the stela.

This makes it difficult to accept Faulkner's opinion. Thus, one is tempted to suggest that although Yenoam was captured, together with other towns, in the first campaign according to the stela, this event is

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(1) For Retenu as including Palestine, see Gardiner, Onomastica, I, pp. 143*, 144*, 147.

not necessarily the same one shown in the reliefs. Rather, this latter can refer to a later campaign during which Yenoam was recaptured, probably under the generalship of Seti himself this time. In this campaign it is possible that either Seti marched through Palestine, captured Yenoam, then advanced to receive the assurances of loyalty of the Lebanese chieftains, or he went by sea to Labanon, then on his way back by land he captured Yenoam.

The top register, on the east side, is entirely lost. But it may have dealt with a campaign in Amurru during which the two important ports of Ullaza and Simyra were captured. This may be indicated by the topographical lists and by the Qurneh sphinx of Seti[1], which mention these two names among many others.

Moving to the chronological order of the registers on the west side we must emphasise from the outset that it is beyond any doubt here that each register records a separate campaign, as the Libyan war falls in between two different campaigns in Asia. Breasted was inclined to put the Libyan war first[2]. This is rejected by Faulkner[3], who, on the

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(1) Breasted, Ancient Records, III, § 114, Faulkner, CAH, p.6.

(2) Op.cit., III, pp. 40, 58 ff.

(3) JEA, 33, p. 38.

other hand, reads the order of scenes downwards, i.e. Qadesh, Libya, Hittites[1]. Faulkner suggested this because "there is no evidence to suggest that the frontier of the Hittite empire lay to the south of Kadesh"[2]. However, I find this argument unconvincing for three reasons. First, there is good reason to believe that Amurru, part of the Hittite empire since the Amarna period[3], extended westward and south of Qadesh[4]. Hence Faulkner's disbelief in a Hittite border south of Qadesh is without basis.

Secondly, when Suppiluliuma defeated and captured Shutatarra, prince of Qadesh, and put his son Aitakama in his place, Qadesh became part of the Hittite empire[5]. Throughout the reigns of Suppiluliuma and his successors Mursil II (contemporary of Horemhab) and Muwatallis, Qadesh

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(1) Faulkner, JEA 33, pp. 37-39.

(2) Ibid., p. 38.

(3) Cf. K. A. Kitchen, Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs, Liverpool, 1962, p. 18, note 5.

(4) Cf. discussion of Amurru by H. Klengel, MIO 10 (1964), pp. 66-69.

(5) References in Kitchen, op.cit., pp. 13-14.

remained faithful to and guarded by the Hittites[1]. Thus, from the Deeds of Suppiluliuma, we learn that the latter quickly sent troops under trusted generals to drive off an Egyptian force from Qadesh, while he himself was besieging Carchemish in the north on the very eve of Tutankhamun's death[2]. Again, during the reign of Horemhab we hear a report in the Annals of Mursil II (year 7) of Egyptian forces moving up into the Qadesh area. Mursil II's immediate reaction was to march against the Egyptians, although local pro-Hittite forces defeated them before his arrival[3]. Therefore, it is only to be expected that any move north by Seti I beyond the admitted Egyptian territory would immediately spark off a Hittite counter-reaction. Hence, when Seti pushed deep into Syria, he was bound to meet Hittite forces, which he would defeat before reaching Qadesh.

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(1) Except for a revolt in year 9 of Mursil II when Aitakama's son Niqmad (?) murdered his father who made the revolt, and eventually became a Hittite vassal-ruler; see A. Götze, Die Annalen des Mursilis, 1933, pp. 104/105 ff.

(2) Cf. Kitchen, op.cit., p. I5, H. G. Güterbock, "The Deeds of Suppiluliuma as Told by his Son, Mursili II", in JCS 10 (1956), pp. 93-94; also plague-prayer of Mursil II, cf. A. Götze, Kleinasiatische Forschungen, I, 1930, pp. 207-209.

(3) Kitchen, op.cit., pp. 49-50 and Götze, Annalen, pp. 80 ff.

Thirdly, the reading of the events as shown on the western side of the wall downwards is contrary to the Egyptian method throughout the New Kingdom. It is a well-established fact that in this period the general development of the different sequences of an event is upwards; the nearest example to be cited is the scenes on the eastern side of the same wall.

In considering this line of thought, it seems evident that Seti I conducted some six campaigns during his reign. Unfortunately only one of them is dated while the rest are not. The campaigns may be arranged as follows:

1) The campaign against the Shasu and South Palestine which went as far as Gaza. From there Seti dispatched three divisions of his army to put an end to the troubles caused by the alliance of the princes of Hamath and Pella against the towns of Bethshan, Rehob and Yenoam.

2) In his second campaign Seti seems to have recaptured Yenoam, then pushed forward to the Phoenician coast where he secured the ports on this coast and received the submission of the Lebanese chieftains.

3) The third is lost, but according to the sphinx from the temple of Seti I at Qurneh and the topographical lists, it seems that he pushed into Amurru and captured the two important ports of Ullaza and Simyra.

4) This last campaign would have alarmed the Hittites, particularly as they considered Amurru part of their empire. This led to a direct confrontation between the two powers, and Seti met some detachment of their forces somewhere in Syria and defeated them.

5) This defeat opened the way to Qadesh. But Seti was compelled to go back to Egypt as trouble developed on the western front nearer home in Libya. He quelled this trouble in two battles.

6) The western frontier now being secure, Seti moved again into Syria to achieve his ultimate intention, the capture of Qadesh. This he did and proved by the relief at Karnak as well as by a stela which he had erected there and which was found by M. Pézard[1].

This way of interpreting the Seti reliefs, it may be freely admitted, is not conclusive for it is perfectly possible also to interpret them as a record of as few as four campaigns. On this view numbers 1) and 2) will be the record of the first campaign carried out in year 1 to secure South Palestine, the cities of Hamath, Yenoam, Bethshan, Pella and Rehob as well as the Southern Phoenician coast. A second campaign

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(1) Syria 3 (1922), pp. 108-110, fig. 6 and pl. XXII (upper).

would be the last top register on the east wall, number 3), which was conducted in Northern Phoenicia and Amurru. This put the Egyptians into direct conflict with Hittite forces in the area, No. 4). The third campaign would be the Libyan war, No. 5) and the fourth resulted in the capture of Qadesh, No. 6).

Whatever view be adopted, it is clear that these reliefs offer only a selection of incidents from the wars of Seti I. Thus, of the events reported on the Bethshan stela I, we have here only the capture of Yenoam, while there is no allusion whatsoever to the events on the smaller stela from Bethshan in these reliefs as preserved.

There is no doubt that the sudden appearance of complex war scenes on this large scale in the temple reliefs is startling and probably adventurous. The traditional pictogram of the ever-victorious pharaoh performing an eternal act of smiting the enemies of Egypt, although not absent in the Egyptian decoration, is conspicuously absent from these scenes. Instead, we have here a number of registers; each register contains a number of incidents involving the king and his enemies in specific events resulting in a coherent narrative.

The king is shown as a dynamic, yet dignified, figure involved in the battles, then binding his prisoners and driving them back to Egypt

to be presented to Amen-re. In all these proceedings, he is acting within particular limits of space and time. It is true that in his battles the victory was a foregone conclusion. Yet we see him, unlike before, acting in person to achieve this victory. As might be expected, his figure, compared with others, is towering and dominant. The gestures of his arms while smiting an enemy or shooting an arrow are strongly reminiscent of the traditional gestures. However, in many cases we see his body bending slightly forward to take action. In other cases we see him in poses of rather transitory nature, e.g. resting casually on his chariot, or about to step into it while looking back with a last farewell glance at the battle-field. These are new themes stressing the human side of the king although they do not reduce his dignity or undermine his divinity in the least.

In the scenes where he uses his chariot, the horses are seen galloping in the conventional manner. But in the scenes where they are supposed to be standing still, they are shown restless as if all eager to start trotting.

As for the enemy, we mentioned that in their turmoil and confusion they are depicted in a pyramid-like shape to counterbalance the dominating figure of the king and his chariot. The fortress, when included,

marks the peak of such a pyramid. The foes are shown dying, dead, fleeing or surrendering. In most cases they are shown as collective groups with no individuality. This is meant to show their anonymity and insignificance contrasted with the all-important and dominating pharaoh. This same idea greatly reduces the effect, and is responsible for the lack, of any dramatic confrontation in the scene between the king and his enemy. In two cases, however, where an individual enemy emerges, a kind of dramatic tension is maintained. In the battle with the Hittites, a relatively large-scale wounded Hittite emerges from the confusion of the battle. His pose and gestures, even in the moment of defeat, yet portray a certain dignity in a tragic and desperate situation. This is also clearly seen in the scene of the king smiting a Libyan chief. The latter is shown on a scale almost as big as that of the king, and his pose counterbalances that of the king. In his acceptance of his fate, there is a tragic element of resignation.

Some details were added here and there to stress the actuality of the scenes or to mark the settings of the events. We find this with the woman and her child, the two lamenting men and the man climbing the hill in the scene of capturing Pakanaan. In the capture of Yenoam we notice the faces of frightened men peering from behind the trees. In the capture of Qadesh we have the herdsman driving his cattle into

the wood while looking back in the direction of the Egyptian attack.

Some of the places in which the battles occurred are depicted in rather schematic fashion. In fact the bottom register, on the west side, displays a kind of pictorial map of the route between Egypt and Palestine. The fortified towns are shown in a typical way rather like large hieroglyphs; but for the explanatory texts, we would not know which is which. Nonetheless, their depiction, particularly within a landscape, limits the field of action.

In brief, the war scenes of Seti I exhibit a venture by the Egyptian artists in recording in coherent order specific events involving the king of Egypt, within the limitations of particular places and in the course of particular times. Considering the handicap of the traditional conventions of Egyptian art, their venture is a remarkable success. Although some of the texts help in understanding the course of the events, the representations themselves are independent and are capable of providing all the qualities of narrative.

2. The Wars of Ramesses II

Ramesses II is one of the most energetic pharaohs that Egypt ever had. However, in spite of the fact that a vast amount of material in the

form of records, buildings, reliefs, inscriptions, etc., have survived, it has proved problematical to give an exact account of his campaigns or to put some of them in a definite chronological order[1].

Apparently, during his first three years on the throne, he was preoccupied with Egypt's internal affairs, unless it proves that he conducted the Nubian and Libyan (?) campaigns within the span of these three years.

According to a dated stela at Nahr el-Kalb, near Beirut[2], which is preserved in very bad condition, it seems that the first campaign of Ramesses II in Syria was carried out in the fourth year of his reign. This campaign must have aimed at securing the Phoenician coast in preparation for future campaigns. His second campaign, explicitly so called[3], in Syria, was carried out in his fifth year and reached its peak in the famous battle of Qadesh which ended in either indecisive victory

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(1) For the campaigns of Ramesses II, cf. Drioton-Vandier, L'Égypte, pp. 421-425; Faulkner, CAH, pp. 12-16.

(2) L.D., III, pl. 197b, Weissbach, Denkmäler u. Inschr., Mündung des Nahr el-Kelb, (1922), pl. 9; Porter and Moss, Bibliography, VII, p. 385.

(3) A. H. Gardiner, The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II, Oxford, 1960, p. 28.

or near defeat. The result of this battle lowered the prestige of the Egyptian power in Palestine and Syria, hence a general revolt against Egypt broke out in these territories. To quell this revolt Ramesses conducted a third campaign in year 8, the record of which is preserved at the Ramesseum and probably at Luxor[1]. A second stela at Nahr el-Kalb, probably dated to year 10, indicates further military activity of Ramesses II in Phoenicia[2]. A third stela, found at Bethshan this time and dated to the eighteenth year, may also refer to a campaign in Palestine in that year[3].

However, the peace-treaty between Ramesses II and Hattusilis, the Hittite king, made in the twenty-first year of the reign of Ramesses, seems to have achieved amicable relations between the two great powers[4].

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(1) Cf. infra, pp. 355-356.

(2) L.D., III, pl. 197c, Weissbach, op.cit., pl. 6; Porter-Moss, op.cit., VII, p. 385.

(3) Ibid., p. 379.

(4) S. Langdon and A. H. Gardiner, "The Treaty of Alliance between Hattušili, King of the Hittites, and the Pharaoh Ramesses II of Egypt", JEA 6 (1920), pp. 179 ff.; see also Helck, Beziehungen, pp. 223-231, and Breasted, Ancient Records, III, §§ 367-391; ANET, pp. 199-203.

Hence, dated records of warfare in Syria/Palestine cease to occur.

So far as a Nubian campaign (or campaigns) is concerned, things are less clear. Reliefs in the temples of Beit el-Wali, Derr and Abu Simbel show the king fighting Nubians, but netheir date nor localities of the fighting are mentioned. The fragmentary relief that shows the procession of a rhinoceros, tribute-bearers, Nubian dancers and drummers which has been found at the temple of Armant is described as "The booty captured by pharaoh in the desert lands of the miserable Kush, in the course of the first expedition of victory". Now although the "pharaoh" here could be Thutmose III, the style of reliefs is evidently that of the XIXth Dynasty. If so, this scene may refer to a Nubian campaign of Ramesses II who seems to have usurped this monument which was built by Thutmose III[1].

In the West Gate at Amarah West is a short inscription attached to a scene showing Ramesses II charging in his chariot against the enemy of the land of <u>Irm</u>[2]. Thus, although this campaign is not dated, it may be connected with the war scenes at Beit el-Wali, Derr and Abu Simbel.

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(1) Cf. <u>supra</u>, p. 145 note 2.

(2) H. W. Fairman, "Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Amarah West", <u>JEA</u> 34 (1948), p. 8, pl. 6:1.

The only snag is that a previously discovered stela at Amarah West mentions a campaign undertaken by Seti I also in the same land of *Irm[1]. This raises the question, whether both Seti and Ramesses conducted separate campaigns in the same region[2] or whether it was only one campaign the scenes of which were sketched out by Seti then taken over and completed by Ramesses II[3]. At any rate, a third suggestion may prove plausible; that the Nubian campaign in the land of *Irm was undertaken during the reign of Seti I under the generalship of prince Ramesses his regent or co-regent. Therefore each one claimed the campaign as one of his achievements[4]. The date of this campaign is difficult to establish; but if the last suggestion proves acceptable, it may be dated to the last couple of years of Seti I.

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(1) Fairman, JEA 25 (1939), p. 142, and JEA 34, p.8.

(2) A separate campaign in the first two years of Ramesses II might be indicated by the Aswan stela, Breasted, Ancient Records, III, §§ 478-479, which is dated to year 2 and which mentions Asiatics, Temehu, warriors of the sea, the land of Nubia, Babylon (Eg. Sangar) and Hatti in the most general terms.

(3) Fairman, loc.cit.

(4) This possibility was suggested to me by my colleague Mr. K. A. Kitchen.

The question of a Libyan campaign is very doubtful[1]. It has been raised because of the allusions in the Aswan stela which mentions that "He (Ramesses II) has crushed the foreigners of the north, the Temehu have fallen for fear of him", etc.[2] Besides, a Tanis stela[3] mentions that "He has captured the countries of the west, causing them to be as that which [is] not". This same stela mentions also the Sherden. Libyan captives are also seen among the war scenes in the temple of Beit el-Wali. If we are to believe these documents, Ramesses must have conducted a campaign against the Libyans who probably had an alliance with the Sherden. Now, the fact that the scenes of Libyan captives are depicted in the temple of Beit el-Wali may indicate an early date for such a Libyan campaign, as this temple belongs to Ramesses II's earliest years[4]. Furthermore, we find a Sherden regiment fighting beside the Egyptian army in the battle of Qadesh in year 5. This may be taken as another indication of an early dating for a Libyan

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(1) Dioton-Vandier, op.cit., pp. 422, 425.

(2) Breasted, Ancient Records, III, § 479.

(3) Ibid., § 491, see also J. Yoyotte, "Les stèles de Ramsès II à Tanis", Kêmi 10 (1949), pp. 61-69, and pls. VII-VIII.

(4) Cf. (e.g.) Roeder, op.cit., pp. 155 f., 161 f., 165.

war.

The reliefs which record these different campaigns are all depicted on the walls of the temples of Ramesses II, e.g. Abydos, Karnak, Luxor, the Ramesseum, Beit el-Wali, Derr, Abu Simbel and Amarah West[1]. Of all these wars, the battle of Qadesh occupies a unique position; it is shown in great detail and on a huge scale in several temples. The other wars are depicted in war scenes of a kind in the temples. Therefore, it will be more convenient to treat them collectively first and then to deal with the battle of Qadesh separately.

a) Minor War Scenes

The minor war scenes of Ramesses II are distributed among a number of his temples in Upper Egypt and Nubia. Generally speaking they are mostly standardised individual scenes. Occasionally one may find a typical cycle of the king capturing one or more forts, binding prisoners, driving back to Egypt and finally presenting the prisoners to Amun (in Thebes), and in Nubian temples to Re-Harakhty. Apart from the Ramesseum scenes, which are shown in a fashion different from all other temples, the war scenes are not dated; sometimes, even,

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(1) Unpublished scene of Ramesses II attacking Irqata; cf. JEA 50 (1964), p. 68, n. 8.

we will find that the names of the towns captured are omitted. The temples in the Theban area show scenes of battles in Syria/Palestine, whereas the Nubian temples add battles against the Nubians and Libyans. Fortunately most of these scenes are published; hence, a brief account will suffice.

The exterior south wall of the great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak is occupied by three registers of scenes (pl. 56). Like the parallel north wall, this wall is divided into two parts by a doorway, but since the doorway here is not in the centre, the two parts are not equal. However, the general development of the scenes is again towards the doorway.

On the extreme left of the bottom register, west side, (pl. 57), we see Ramesses charging in his chariot[1]. Wearing the blue crown, he grasps a Syrian chieftain with one hand and is about to pierce him with a lance with the other. An enemy chariot flees away, running over dead bodies. Two typical Syrian forts are shown on the left, one above the other. The lower one is deserted; it is named as <u>'Ikati</u>, somewhere near Tripoli on the Phoenician coast[2]. The upper one is called <u>Sibt</u>, believed

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(1) Wreszinski, <u>Atlas</u>, II, pl. 56.

(2) Helck, <u>Beziehungen</u>, p. 223 and p. 221, 18 (context).

to be in Southern Syria[1]. It has two ramparts. Its defenders are surrendering.

Ramesses is then seen dragging two bound chieftains by the hair[2]. He is about to step into his chariot while looking back on the field of the battle. Two princes are waiting by his span while holding spears. To the right are two files of captives. The king then drives in his chariot to Egypt[3]. He is accompanied by the two princes and preceded by two lines of prisoners. Once he is in Egypt, he presents the two files of captives to Amen-re who is seated on the right[4]. This ends the bottom register.

The middle register is occupied by three individual scenes of Ramesses capturing towns and a fourth scene of him presenting prisoners to Amun in Egypt. On the extreme left the king is charging in his chariot against two superposed forts, the uppermost of which is completely lost; in fact we see only the hands of the surrendering enemies[5]. Although the lower fort is damaged its name is preserved;

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(1) Ibid., p. 220:5.

(2), (3) and (4) Wreszinski, Atlas, II, pl. 56a.

(5) Ibid., pl. 55a.

it is the town of Kwt 'Isr , about twenty kilometres to the east of Qadesh[1]. The next scene shows Ramesses treading underfoot the bodies of two Syrian chieftains[2]. He raises a mace with one hand and is about to smash the head of a chieftain whom he drags from the fort with the other. The people in the fort are surrendering. This fort is called 'Itr, about twenty-five kms. to the north west of Qadesh[3]. Below this fort is another deserted one named 'k;, Akka in northern Palestine. The third scene[4] shows Ramesses in his chariot drawing an arrow against two superposed forts. The lower one is deserted and is called Mutir[5], while the name of the upper one is lost (only [...]rd is legible). As expected the defenders of the upper one are submitting to the king. The final scene in this register shows Ramesses presenting his prisoners to Amen-re, seated on the right[6].

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(1) Helck, op.cit., p. 222:IV.

(2) Wreszinski, Atlas, II, pl. 55a.

(3) Helck, op.cit., p. 221:12.

(4) Wreszinski, Atlas, II, pl. 55.

(5) An unknown place in Syria, Helck, op.cit., p. 223.

(6) This scene is not reproduced by Wreszinski. However, it was photographed by Mr. Kitchen in the winter of 1962/3 and is catalogued: D.11.

Moving to the top register we find five scenes. On the extreme left Ramesses is depicted treading a foe underfoot. He holds a shield and arrows with one hand and is about to thrust a spear (now lost) at the city with the other[1]. On the left is the city of Krmyn, on the north coast of Phoenicia[2], a city which we will encounter in the reliefs of Luxor. The defenders, as usual, are in the act of surrender. The next scene shows Ramesses in the chariot attacking two (?) forts which are completely lost[3]. Under his horses are the corpses of his enemies. This is followed by another scene where the king is seen binding his prisoners in the vicinity of two superposed forts[4]. Part of the name of the upper one is preserved, [...]mw, while the name of the lower has entirely disappeared. The fourth scene[5] shows Ramesses on foot trampling on an enemy. He shoots an arrow at the desperate ~~ene~~mies in the fort of ʾI[pk] which will recur in the reliefs from Luxor. The lower fort is deserted and has lost its name. The final scene in this register, and on this side of the wall, shows Ramesses (damaged) in his chariot charging against the town of

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(1) Wreszinski, Atlas, II, pl. 54a.

(2) About six kms. south west of Tripoli, cf. Helck, op.cit., pp. 202/203.

(3), (4) and (5) Wreszinski, Atlas, II, pl. 54a.

'Iy[1], thought to be about twenty kms. to the south east of Qadesh[2]. Some of the enemy are seen running towards the fortress while those inside it are submitting.

The scenes on the east side of the doorway, four in all, are not very informative[3]. Three of them, two on the top register and one in the middle, show Ramesses, once on foot and twice in a chariot, charging against unnamed towns. The scene in the bottom register shows the king in his chariot driving prisoners towards the doorway, i.e. Egypt. We are not even sure whether these scenes are connected together.

The exterior west wall of the Cour de la Cachette was also adorned with two registers of war scenes. Just to the left of the middle of the wall is the text of the Hittite treaty which divides the wall into two unequal parts. We do not know whether each part showed independent scenes or whether each register depicted a war cycle.

However, on the extreme left of the bottom register we see Ramesses

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(1) Wreszinski, op.cit., pl. 54 only publishes the fort and the hoofs of the horses. The rest of the scene is taken from Kitchen photos, D.16.

(2) Helck, op.cit., p. 222.

(3) Kitchen, photos D.17, 18 and E. 32-33.

treading underfoot two of his enemies (pl. 58)[1]. He raises a sickle-sword with one hand and grasps the hair of an enemy with the other. Inside the town, which is not named, the defenders show signs of surrender. Behind the king is his chariot attended-to by the prince Khaemwase. Below the chariot and prince are two Egyptian officials driving away prisoners.

To the right of the text of the Hittite treaty we see the king in his chariot storming the town of Askalon in southern Palestine[2]. The town, name not mentioned except in the rhetorical text in front of the king, is situated on a high hill. An Egyptian soldier is climbing the wall of the fortress on a ladder while another is chopping down its door with an axe. The defenders are dead, fleeing or surrendering. This is followed by the scene of the king binding his prisoners[3]. The next scene[4], mutilated, shows Ramesses (now lost) in the chariot driving prisoners to the right. He is followed by sun-shade-bearers.

Of the top register we have only one damaged scene on the extreme

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(1) Wreszinski, Atlas, II, pl. 57a.

(2) Ibid., pls. 58-58a.

(3) and (4) Ibid., pl. 58b.

left. The king (now lost) in his chariot storms an unnamed fortress[1]. Between him and the fortress are his enemies in a helpless mass. One of them is fleeing on the back of his horse while looking back on the pharaoh in terror.

Moving to the temple of Luxor we find two sets of minor war scenes. The first one occupies the outer face of the north half of the east wall of the court of Ramesses II[2]. The wall is divided into two registers; each register had originally four scenes, one of which is now buried under the stairway up to the mosque of Abu el-Haggag.

On the extreme right of the bottom register we see a conventional Syrian fort which was originally described as "Town which the mighty arm of Pharaoh, L.P.H., plundered in (the) land of Moab: B(w)trt". This text was later altered into "Town which the mighty arm of Pharaoh, L.P.H., plundered: Šbdn". Below the fort are two princes leading captives to the king who stands on the left extending one hand in a welcoming gesture while the other holds a lance. Behind him are three more princes carrying fans followed by two men. The second scene

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(1) Wreszinski, Atlas, II, pl. 57.

(2) For full treatment see K. A. Kitchen, "Some New Light on the Asiatic Wars of Ramesses II", JEA 50 (1964), pp. 47-70 and pls. III-VI.

in the bottom register shows a deserted Asiatic fort on the right; it is said to be the town of Yn (?)d.., in the mountain of Mrrn. Having finished with this town, the king steps into his chariot, facing left, while giving a final glance at the town he has just captured. He drags a helpless foe. Above the horses is another deserted fortress which was originally called Tbʔinw=Dibon (in Moab), but the name was altered to D...t dniʔwr. The final scene visible in this register is badly damaged. Traces of the superposed forts are seen on the right. On the left is the king in the chariot moving away from the fort while again looking back. Above the horses is another fort called P3 [..] k/r-d.

On the extreme right of the top register we see two Syrian forts above each other. The name of the lower one, which is deserted, is lost. The upper fort is called Krmyn, a name which we met at Karnak[1]. Its defenders make supplication. Ramesses, having just loosed an arrow, is standing in the centre of the scene wearing the blue crown. He holds a bow while a quiver is slung across his back. Behind him is his chariot attended to by his sons. Over it are two files of five soldiers each marching to the right while armed with shields and spears and alternately

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(1) Supra, p. 348 and note 2.

with swords and staves. Below is another file doing likewise. The next scene shows the king in action. On the right are two forts, the lower of which is deserted and its name is lost. The upper one is that of Ỉpk which we saw also at Karnak[1]. Its defenders are surrendering. Ramesses stands in the centre of the scene holding a bow and a chieftain from the fort with one hand and is about to slay him with a sword in the other. Behind him is his chariot guarded by his sons. Above and below the chariot are two files each of nine soldiers marching towards the king. Finally, the scene on the extreme left shows Ramesses in his chariot charging against two forts on the right. The enemy is surrendering and the names of the two forts are lost.

The second series of minor war scenes at Luxor occupy the west and south west walls of the court of Ramesses (exterior) and a part of the exterior west wall of the Processional Colonnade (pl. 59). The west wall is divided into two equal halves by a central doorway. Each half was divided into two registers; but whereas the top register of the north half is preserved, save for one scene, the top register of the southern half is completely lost. On both sides of the doorway, however, there is the typical scene of the king smiting his enemies accompanied by

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(1) Supra, p. 348.

topographical lists. At the extreme left of the bottom register we see the heraldic figure of the king wearing the blue crown trampling down two enemies while shooting at the fort of Hn in the land of Qode in the district of Naharin (pl. 61)[1]. The fort is raised on a hill and surrounded by a wood. Crowds of the enemy are pierced by the arrows of pharaoh - wounded, dying and surrendering. Princes are leading hordes of captives towards the king.

The next scene[2] portrays Ramesses standing on the right while holding a bow and spear, pointed downwards. Behind him are six of his sons carrying fans and sun-shades. In front of him are still more princes leading lines of Hittite prisoners. This is the scene where the king is celebrating his victory. Ramesses is then seen driving in his chariot back to Egypt (towards the doorway)[3]. He leads and drives three lines of Hittite captives. His sons are shown either walking behind him while carrying sun-shades or driving in chariots.

The scenes on the top register of this side of the wall seem to move in the opposite direction, away from the doorway. The first scene

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(1) Wreszinski, Atlas, II, pl. 72.

(2) Ibid., pl. 73.

(3) Wreszinski, Atlas, II, pls. 74-75.

on the right is destroyed[1]. We see the lower part of the chariot and the horses trotting while between their legs runs the tame lion of the king. Before him march an escort of armed soldiers. Hence, it may be presumed that this scene when complete showed the king in the chariot encountering an enemy in the desert or plain (no fort)[2]. He shoots an arrow while the enemy chariotry is escaping in great confusion and disorder. The royal sons take an active part in the battle, smiting and binding enemies. As there are no texts preserved, the exact location of this battle is unknown. The last scene on the extreme left shows the king in a battle against the fort of Dapur in the land of the Hittites[3]. Ramesses treads on two dead bodies while drawing his bow to shoot at the town on the left. As usual the fort stands on a hill and its defenders are in a hopeless plight. The king is assisted in this battle by his sons and a regiment of Sherden soldiers. Behind the king is a relatively long text in which he boasts that he fought against the Hittites who were in the district of the town of Tunip in the land of Naharin, for two hours

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(1) Müller, Egyptological Researches, II, pl. 47 (top), and Kitchen, Photos, B. 26.

(2) Wreszinski, Atlas, II, pl. 77, and Müller, op.cit., pl. 44.

(3) Wreszinski, op.cit., pl. 78, and Müller, op.cit., pl. 44 (top).

without wearing his coat of mail. A copy of this text[1] adjoins a scene showing Ramesses in a chariot charging against the same fort of Dapur in the land of the Hittites on the east wall, south half, west face of the Hypostyle Hall of the Ramesseum (pl. 60). Both the reliefs and the two copies refer to the same incident.

The bottom register of the southern half of the west wall contained originally two scenes. Traces of only the lowest parts of the first scene on the left are preserved[3]. They indicate an attack by the king in his chariot, facing right, upon an enemy thrown into complete disorder. His sons participate in the battle. The second scene is also badly damaged[4]. It showed the king in his chariot (both now lost except for the foreparts of the horses) storming the fortified city of Mutir which we encountered in the reliefs of Karnak. The fort is situated on a hill and surrounded by trees. Between the city and the charging king the enemy is scattered in wild disarray. A cow-herd is seen driving

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(1) For the two copies of the text see K. Sethe, ZAS 44 (1907), pp. 36-39.

(2) Wreszinski, Atlas, II, pls. 107-109.

(3) Kitchen, Photos, B.20-21.

(4) Wreszinski, op.cit., pl. 71.

his cattle into the wood while looking back at the attacking king, a theme which is copied from the earlier reliefs of Seti I at Karnak[1].

The bottom register of the south-west wall of the court is occupied by one scene, the capture of Satuna[2]. In the centre of the picture is the dominating figure of the king (head lost) in his chariot. Behind him are three lines of princes in their chariots and armed soldiers. On the extreme left is the fortress of Satuna upon a hill. Its defenders are shotting arrows or surrendering. Behind the fort is a cedar wood in which we see a man climbing a tree to escape a bear which has already caught his leg. Realising what has happened to his comrade, one of the defenders of the city turns his back to the battle and is about to shoot an arrow at the bear. Between the fort and the king are masses of the enemy and their chariotry. One of them, probably their chieftain, is shown on a large scale; he is pierced with an arrow and is about to collapse. The royal princes attack in their chariots, and bind and bring in prisoners.

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(1) Supra., p. 326.

(2) Wreszinski, Atlas, II, pls. 66-67.

There is no doubt that the setting of the battle, the fort and its surroundings, is Syrian; yet the enemy is Libyan! The only logical explanation for this is that it was an error on the part of the artists[1]. This error was soon realised, and they started changing the features of the enemies from Libyans into Syrians with plaster, but this has fallen away long since.

Finally there is a unique scene on the north part of the west wall of the Processional Colonnade[2]. In this scene we do not see a fight, in fact we do not see any living creature. Instead we find a landscape of a devastated town and its surroundings (pl. 62). On the hill is the fort, ruined with its door askew, silent and deserted. A hilly landscape shows trees cut down. This is one of the most extraordinary studies in landscape that was ever produced by an Egyptian artist; it is unique. In its silence, it speaks eloquently of the tragedy and horrors of war.

The north end of the north wing of the first pylon of the Ramesseum (exterior) was divided into six horizontal registers[3]. The top three

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(1) See M. Burchardt, "Die Einnahme von Satuna", ZAS 51 (1914), pp. 106-109, and pls. VI-VII.

(2) Wreszinski, Atlas, II, pl. 65.

(3) Ibid., pls. 90-91.

registers are separated from the bottom three by a general text. Each register contained three scenes. These scenes are almost identical in all of the registers; they are not war scenes, in fact they are more like topographical lists. In each one we see a fort on the left on which is the text "Town captured by his majesty in year 8, X". In front of each town a prince is seen leading or driving three (four in only one case), prisoners, sign of plurality.

A complete list of the towns in the bottom three registers is preserved. Reading from left to right and from bottom to top, they are as follows: Mkt (?), Gb [..], [..]t, Kn, Krp, ʿN nʿm, ʾIn mym, Kwr and Dpr. The names on the top three registers are damaged. In the first one we have Mrm, [..]pn and [..]r (?). In the second register we have Byt [..]d and [..]br and in the top register we have only the name of one town Šrm.

The locations of most of these towns are not definitely fixed[1]. However, the whole wall refers to a number of Syro-Palestinian towns which were captured by the king in the campaign of year eight.

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(1) See Helck, Beziehungen, pp. 219-220, for some possible identifications.

The minor war scenes of Ramesses II in the Nubian temples of Beit el-Wali, Derr and Abu Simbel are stereotyped and of the same nature as those in the Theban temples. In the temple of Beit el-Wali, they occupy the north and south walls of the forecourt[1]. The scenes on the north wall show the king warring against the Syrians and Libyans. On the extreme right we see the remains of a prince leading a Libyan and three Syrian prisoners. He presents them to his father who stands on the left holding captives with others bound underfoot. Further to the left we see the king on foot capturing an unnamed Syrian fort. This is followed by another scene showing the king in his chariot fighting against Asiatic foes in an unnamed locality. The next scene shows him grasping the hair of a submissive Libyan chieftain with one hand, being about to slay him with a sickle-sword in the other. Finally the king is seen seated in a kiosk wearing the Atef-crown and holding a crook and long staff. The rest of the scene in front of him is divided into two lines; in the upper one a prince presents a number of prisoners while in the lower a high official introduces other officials who are presumed to be working in Nubia.

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(1) G. Roeder, Beit el-Wali, pp. 3-42 and pls. 9, 15-34, cf. also Wreszinski, Atlas, II, pls. 163-168.

The south wall is occupied by two scenes. In the first one the king is portrayed in his chariot, followed by his sons also in their chariots, charging against a Nubian enemy (pl. 63). At the extreme left is the Nubian setting of the battle, dôm-trees and the remains of a village. The second scene shows the king seated in a kiosk wearing the Atef-crown and holding a mace. His sons and officials introduce to him two files of Nubian tribute, gold-rings, gold-dust, skins, chairs, tusks, fans, giraffes, leopards, cattle, etc.

The war scenes which occupied the bottom registers[1] of the north and south walls of the first pillared Hall of the temple of Ed-Derr have survived in an appalling condition[2]. However, the north wall seems to have been devoted to a Syrian battle. In the centre we find traces of Ramesses II in his chariot attacking a Syrian enemy. Behind him the reliefs are illegible, but they seem to show officers conducting captives. The next scene shows the king binding his prisoners. On the extreme right comes the final scene of Ramesses leading two files of prisoners and presenting them to Re-Harakhty.

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(1) The top registers are occupied by ritual scenes.

(2) Blackman, Derr, pp. 6-8, 18-22, and pls. III-V, XIII-XIX; cf. also Wreszinski, Atlas, II, pl. 168 a.

The scenes on the south wall are also badly mutilated. As expected they show a Nubian battle. In the centre of the scene, Ramesses is in his chariot charging against the Southern enemy. Most interesting are the details of the scene, shown at the extreme left. They vividly portray the setting and some incidents of the battle. A number of Nubian soldiers are seen carrying a wounded comrade of theirsto the village. A woman is wailing and tearing her hair on hearing the news of the defeat from a man who has just come back from the battle. Flocks of cattle and goats are grazing near a tree. All these and other details add to the liveliness and vitality of the scene.

Moving to the great temple of Abu Simbel we find minor war scenes occupying the bottom register of the south wall of its great Hall[1]. At the extreme right the king is depicted in his chariot, followed by his sons in theirs, storming a typical Syrian fortress, unnamed. The defenders are surrendering and a hersman runs away with his cattle. This is followed by a scene of the king slaying a Libyan chieftain while trampling upon another, a scene which is closely copied from the reliefs of Seti at Karnak[2]. Finally, we see the king in his chariot driving off with

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(1) Wreszinski, Atlas, II, pls. 181-183.

(2) Supra, p. 324.

two files of Nubian prisoners. He is preceded by a dignitary who walks with a bow and staff in hand. Between the legs of the horses is the tame lion of the king.

Looking at all these war scenes, one is justified in saying that the artists of Ramesses II were engaged in a kind of artistic mass-production to satisfy the greed of an ostentatious pharaoh. This is responsible for the generally poor quality of the style and execution of the reliefs. It must also be responsible for the haste and incompletion in portraying the different scenes. Specifically, it must be responsible for the fatal error in the scene of Ramesses fighting Libyans in Syria.

Most of these minor war scenes are in fact no more than pictorial statements. Whether these statements are true or not is another question. As we have seen they are mostly individual scenes, each one dealing with the subjugation of one or more forts. To try and make any topographical sense of the arrangement of these forts as depicted, even two in one scene, is practically impossible. However, each set of scenes, taken together, will indicate a certain region in which the war was carried out, e.g. the scenes on the east wall of Luxor are concerned with towns in Moab. Yet, except for the so-called scenes at the Ramesseum, it is also extremely difficult to find any chronological clue in the order of

the scenes on any given wall.

The scenes are typical and repetitive, down to the minutest detail, e.g., the king looking back on the battle-field while stepping into his chariot, the cowherd driving his cattle into the wood, the king capturing a city by grasping an enemy from within the fort, etc. In other cases the motifs are mere copies of earlier reliefs, e.g. Ramesses striking a Libyan while trampling another, at Abu Simbel. The scenes, moreover, are void of any dramatic tension. A striking example is clearly displayed in the Ramesseum where the reliefs of year eight are more of a topographical list than scenes as such. All these aspects naturally reduce the uniqueness and singularity of most of the scenes to zero and this, in turn, casts deep shadows of doubt on their specific nature.

In the midst of all these typical and conventional scenes any hint of originality or flash of dramatic quality is always welcome. In this connection, the detail of the Nubian soldiers carrying their wounded comrade away from the battle-field, a detail which provides an element of individual tragedy, is celebrated. But even more celebrated is the unique scene of the devastated city with its landscape. Undoubtedly it is an exceptional example of Egyptian study in landscape. That the artist intended it thus is clear since the scene stands on its own and is not directly related to any neighbouring scene. Most moving is the

strong sense of melancholy that such a scene impresses on the beholder. In its calm, silence and sadness it stands as a witness to horror, destruction and misery that war brings on all aspects of life.

b) The Battle of Qadesh

Now we come to one of the most important, and probably most publicized, battles in the Ancient World. The sources of information for this battle are so numerous that many details of its course, its topography, its strategy and the tactical manoevres of the two opposing armies are well-known. These sources are divided into two categories, literary and reliefs. The literary documents[1] of the battle comprise the so-called "Poem"[2], a long and epic-like record of the battle; the so-

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(1) All the literary records of the battle were gathered together and edited by C. Kuentz in his magnificent work, La Bataille de Qadech, in Mem.Inst.fra.Caire, 55, Le Caire, 1928. The Bulletin and the Poem, however, are also edited by S. Hassan, Le poeme dit de Pentaour et le rapport officiel sur la bataille de Qadesh, Le Caire, 1929. For translations see J.A. Wilson, "The Texts of the Battle of Kadesh", AJSL 43 (1927), pp. 266 ff; the Bulletin and Poem are translated by R.O. Faulkner, "The Battle of Qadesh", MDIK 16 (1958), Appendix, pp. 100-111; for a recent translation of the Poem, the Bulletin and the explanatory legends, cf. Gardiner, The Kadesh Inscriptions.

(2) Once wrongly called "The Poem of Pentaour"; Gardiner, op.cit., p.3, calls it "The Literary Record" but uses the term "so-called Poem".

called "Official Report"[1] or Bulletin, a shorter account with more details of the battle; and the explanatory legends which accompany the reliefs.

The Poem is documented in two forms: engraved on the walls of the temples or recorded in hieratic script on papyri. For the first form, we find a damaged version on the north wall of the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos[2], and on the outside south wall of the great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak[3] as well as on the outside west wall between pylons IX-X at Karnak[4]. At the temple of Luxor, it is inscribed on the outside face of the pylon (below the reliefs[5]), on the outside east wall of the court of Ramesses II[6] and on the outside west wall of the court of Amenhotep III[7]. In addition, parts of the Poem still exist on the east face of the north

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(1) So-called by Breasted, The Battle of Kadesh, Chicago, 1903, p. 6, and Ancient Records, III, §§ 316 ff.; Kuentz calls it Bulletin.

(2) Kuentz, op.cit., pp. 1-12.

(3) Ibid., pp. 21-46.

(4) Ibid., pp. 52-62.

(5) Ibid., pp. 67-93.

(6) Ibid., pp. 115-136.

(7) Kuentz, op.cit., pp. 144-149.

wing of the second pylon of the Ramesseum[1]. Considering the hieratic versions we find that an inaccurate version of the Poem is preserved in the single-page Raifé Papyrus in the Louvre, and in Papyrus Sallier III[2] and Papyrus Chester Beatty III, verso[3], both in the British Museum.

The so-called Official Report, or Bulletin, gives more details of the events of the battle in spite of the fact that it is shorter than the Poem. It is noticeable that it is always inserted as close as possible to the reliefs, particularly to the scene of the camp. This induced Gardiner to conclude that "in essence it is clearly no more than one of the legends which served to explain the accompanying reliefs"[4]. Therefore, we are bound to find the text of the Bulletin wherever we find the scene of the camp[5].

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(1) Ibid., pp. 169-173.

(2) Ibid., pp. 199-208.

(3) A.H. Gardiner, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Third Series, London, 1935, pls. 9, 10.

(4) Gardiner, Kadesh Inscriptions, p. 3.

(5) Except that at Luxor, the Bulletin is inscribed on the east wing of the pylon under the scene of the battle, beside the Poem. Texts of the Bulletin are edited by Kuentz, op.cit., pp. 13, 94-101, 104-108, 137-143, 149, 155-161, 181, 183-188.

As for the reliefs recording different events and aspects of the battle, they are depicted on a number of pylons and walls of the temples. Some of the reliefs are preserved in excellent condition while others are either damaged, lost or palimpsest. They once occupied the whole of the exterior west wall and the biggest part of the exterior north wall of the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos. As the upper parts of the two walls are lost, we have only remains of the scenes on the surviving lower parts[1]. The loss of these scenes is most unfortunate. Besides relating the battle, the workmanship of the reliefs here is far superior to any other version. Scenes of the battle once occupied also the outside south wall of the great Hypostyle Hall to the west of the Cour de la Cachette[2] at Karnak, but these scenes were erased and the wall was re-engraved with other war scenes that we have discussed already[3]. However, the remains of the scene of the king presenting prisoners to Amun after his return from Qadesh are still preserved on the same wall, to the east of the Cour de la Cachette, over the Poem[4]. In addition, the exterior west walls

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(1) Wreszinski, Atlas, II, pls. 16-25 and Kuentz, op.cit., pls. XVII-XXIV.

(2) Ibid., pl. XXVI and Breasted, Battle of Kadesh, pl. VII.

(3) Supra, pp. 345-349.

(4) Kuentz, op.cit., pl. XXV.

between pylons VIII-IX and IX-X at Karnak were occupied by reliefs of the battle. But as the upper part of the wall has disappeared, all that we have now are the lower parts of the scenes[1]. Moving to the temple of Luxor, we find two versions of the scenes. The first version is completely preserved in good condition and occupies the entire upper portions of the east and west wings of the pylon (pls. 64-66)[2]. The second version was depicted on the largest part of the exterior west wall of the Processional Colonnade. But again, as the upper part of the wall is mostly lost, only the lowest portions of the scenes are preserved[3]. Two other versions were portrayed in the Ramesseum. The first one (pls. 67 - 68) showed the camp and battle on both wings of the first pylon[4] while the second version showed the battle only on the north wing of the second pylon (pl. 69)[5]. Kuentz also claims[6] that traces from the

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(1) Wreszinski, Atlas, II, pls. 68-70 and Kuentz, op.cit., pls. XXVII-XXXI.

(2) Ibid., pls. XXXII-XXXV, Wreszinski, Atlas, II, pls. 81-89 and Breasted, op.cit., pls. IV-V.

(3) Wreszinski, Atlas, II, pls. 81-89 and Kuentz, op.cit., pls. XXXVI-XXXVIII.

(4) Wreszinski, Atlas, II, pls. 92-99 and Kuentz, pls. XXXIX-XLI.

(5) Wreszinski, Atlas, II, pls. 100-106.

(6) Op.cit., p. 181.

scene of the camp as well as the text of the Bulletin are to be found from the destroyed north wall of the second court of the Ramesseum. In addition, the entire north wall of the great hall of the temple of Abu Simbel is occupied by both the camp and the battle scenes (pls. 70 - 71)[1].

Before discussing the various scenes, we should give a brief reconstruction of the course of the battle[2]. On the ninth day of the third month of the Third Season (Shemu) in year five of his reign, Ramesses II set out from the fortress of Tjaru in his second campaign in Asia. Under his command was an army of about 20,000 men divided into four divisions named after four Egyptian gods: Amun, Pre, Ptah and Sutekh respectively. Each division comprised 5,000 men of infantry, including Sherden auxiliaries, and chariotry; each chariot had two warriors. The

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(1) Wreszinski, Atlas, II, pls. 169-178 and Breasted, Battle of Kadesh, pl. VI.

(2) For full discussion, however, cf. Breasted, Battle of Kadesh, and his Ancient Records, III, §§ 298 ff.; see also Faulkner, MDIK 16, pp. 93-100, Gardiner, Kadesh Inscriptions, pp. 54-56, Major A.H. Burne, "Some Notes on the Battle of Kadesh", JEA 7 (1921), pp. 191-195. Finally see A.R. Schulman, "The N'rn at the Battle of Kadesh", JARCE 1 (1962), pp. 47-52, and H. Goedicke, "Considerations on the Battle of Kadesh", JEA 52 (1966), pp. 71-80.

division of Amun was under the personal command of the king himself while the other three divisions were perhaps under the command of the royal princes.

The army penetrated Palestine by the coast route until it reached the "Shore in the Land of Amurru". Ramesses then took the route up the Valley of the Litany river till he arrived at the "height south of Qadesh", identified by Breasted with Kamuʿat el-Harmal, about 15 miles to the south of Qadesh[1]. There he camped for the night. In the morning, Ramesses marched on the east bank of the Orontes river (Nahr el-ʿAsi) aiming at the town of Shabtuna (modern Ribleh, some $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of Qadesh) immediately to the south of which is a ford. On his march, he was met by two Shasu Bedouin who informed him that the Hittites were in Aleppo, about 120 miles further north. Eventually this information proved to be false. In actual fact, the Hittite king Muwatallis was hiding with his army and allies to the north-east of

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(1) Breasted, Battle of Kadesh, p. 20.

Qadesh[1]. The failure of the Egyptian Intelligence Service to disclose the whereabouts of the enemy was enough to convince Ramesses that the way was wide open to the formidable city of Qadesh. Therefore he crossed the ford of Shabtuna at the head of the division of Amun and hurried on to the city without waiting for the rest of his army to close up. Thus, when Ramesses and the van of the division of Amun reached the site north-west of Qadesh, the division of Pre was still crossing the ford of Shabtuna while the division of Ptah was to the south of Ironama, modern Hermel[2], and the division of Sutekh was further upstream bringing up the rear of the army somewhere on the road.

The division of Amun began pitching camp. Ramesses sat on a golden throne to rest and to await the assemblage of the remainder of his army. But his repose did not last for long. Soon he received the catastrophic news that the Hittite king and his allies were not in the far north, but on the north-east of Qadesh itself. This information was

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(1) Breasted's opinion that the Hittites were to the north-west of Qadesh was based on a statement in Papyrus Raifé and has been corrected; cf. Burne, JEA 7, p. 191, Faulkner, MDIK 16, p. 96, note 5, and Gardiner, Kadesh Inscriptions, p. 17 and note 1 on p. 55.

(2) About 22 kms. south-west of Qadesh, cf. Albright, BASOR 130 (1953), pp. 26-27.

beaten out of two Hittite scouts who were captured spying on the Egyptian camp. Immediately realising his grave position, Ramesses sent his vizier and his butler to hurry on the division of Ptah. Alas, this action was almost too late. For by now the division of Pre, having completed the crossing of the river, had almost cleared the wood of Rabaui and the division of Ptah was about to march through it. This was the moment Muwatallis chose to launch a surprise attach on the division of Pre. About 2,500 of his chariotry either crossed a ford just to the south of Qadesh, or perhaps emerged from behind Qadesh itself[1], and burst upon the division of Pre. The latter, caught completely by surprise, panicked and its troops fled north seeking refuge with the division of Amun. The Hittite chariotry followed in hot pursuit and broke into the Egyptian camp which was plunged into panic and confusion. Now that the two divisions fled, Ramesses was left alone with a handful of his household troops, completely surrounded by the enemy. The king, seeing that all was all but lost, showed tremendous courage in fighting his way out to the south to join the advancing division of Ptah. It may be appropriate to pause here for a moment to look at the poetic account of the situation, told in the most beautiful verse. In his desperate plight, Ramesses turns

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(1) As suggested by Goedicke, JEA 52, p. 79 and map on p. 77.

to Amun, "What ails thee my father Amun? Is it the part of the father to ignore his son?"[1] Further on, we read one of the most human and revealing dialogues in Egyptian literature. In the midst of the fight, Menna, the shield-bearer of the king, turns to his master saying, "My good Lord, thou strong ruler, thou great Saviour of Egypt on the day of fighting, we stand alone in the middle of the battle. Behold the infantry and chariotry have deserted us, for what reason dost thou remain to rescue them? Let us get clear and do thou save us"[2]. To this comes the courageous answer of Ramesses: "Stand firm, steady thy heart, my shield-bearer. I will enter among them like the pounce of a falcon, killing, slaughtering, and casting to the ground. What careth thy heart for these effeminate ones at millions of whom I take no pleasure?"[3]

Ramesses never forgot that his army deserted him in the face of the enemy. Every now and again he reminds them of this bitter fact, chiding their cowardice. However, the tremendous courage of the king was not sufficient to save the day for Egypt. What really saved the day

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(1) Gardiner, Kadesh Inscriptions, p. 9, lines 92-93.

(2) Ibid., p. 11, lines 208-213.

(3) Ibid., p. 12, lines 215-219.

was the arrival, in the nick of time, of fresh, organised troops called the N'rn (Youths). The identity of these troops is debatable, and this is not the place to discuss this problem. However, one is inclined to accept Faulkner's opinion that they were shock-troops who were detached from the army at a certain point on the coast in the south of Amurru, probably to secure the Amorite coast, then to advance to Qadesh along the Eleutheros valley[1]. Be that as it may, their arrival at this critical moment turned the tide in the Egyptian favour. Muwatallis, seeing the change of fortune in the conflict, threw a force of 1,000 chariots into the battle, but in vain. In six counter-attacks, the Egyptians drove back the Hittite forces willy-nilly into the river Orontes. By this time the division of Ptah had arrived and Ramesses mastered the situation. When night fell, the scattered soldiers of Amun and Pre assembled in the camp. The Poem speaks of a resumed fight the next morning[2]; this is probable since the Hittites had all their infantry. However, this seems not to have lasted for long. According to Egyptian sources Muwatallis asked for an armistice[3].

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(1) MDIK 16, pp. 93, 98, and CAH, pp. 12-13.

(2) Gardiner, Kadesh Inscriptions, p. 13, lines 277-290.

(3) Ibid., p. 13.

It is only natural that Ramesses II claimed victory. But since he did not achieve his objective, i.e. the capture of Qadesh, victory was not his. Moreover, we know from Hittite sources that after this battle Egyptian influence in this territory shrank considerably, so much so that the land of Apa, traditionally Egyptian, came temporarily under Hittite rule[1]. However, owing to the arrival of the N'rn at the crucial moment, the greed of the Hittite soldiers (who began looting the Egyptian camp), the miscalculations of Muwatallis and the personal courage of Ramesses II, the Egyptian army, although it did not win the battle, certainly averted a disastrous defeat.

Now as we have a fairly clear idea about the various aspects of the battle, it will be easier to understand the pictorial documentation of the event. As we have seen, the reliefs at Abydos, Karnak and the west wall of Luxor are either lost, damaged or palimpsest. Therefore, it is understandable that we shall concentrate on the better-preserved reliefs on the pylon of Luxor, the first and second pylons of the Ramesseum and the north wall at Abu Simbel. Meanwhile, as the chief

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(1) Cf. E. Edel, ZA 49/NF.15 (1950), p. 212; A. Götze, "Zur Schlacht von Qadesch", OLZ 32 (1929), cols. 834-835, and Goetze, CAH^2, vol. II, Chap. XXIV, p. 42.

elements in all these versions are almost identical, they will be treated collectively, pointing out, however, the significant variations, wherever they occur.

It is noticeable that the artists have divided the scenes into two independent units; for convenience we will call them the Camp and the Battle. Separation of these units is effected by placing each of them on separate pylon-towers or different registers. Scenes of events taking place in or around the camp occur on the west wing of the pylon of Luxor, on the north wing of the first pylon of the Ramesseum and on the bottom half of the north wall of the Hall of Abu Simbel. In all these versions the elements are almost identical with variations in minor details. In the centre is a representation of the actual camp pitched by the division of Amun on its arrival at the north-west of Qadesh. It is shown as a rectangular enclosure barricaded with shields. In its middle is the royal pavilion near which are small tents, presumably belonging to the princes and high officers of the army. Within the camp we see the usual domestic activities of the warriors, the stables containing the chariots, horses and cattle and also the tame lion of the king. The Hittite attack on the camp is shown at the top. The enemy chariotry have broken in and a hand-to-hand combat is going on. To the right (Luxor, left) is a scene which may be supposed to have taken

place within the camp in the royal pavilion. The king is seated on his throne of gold holding audience with the military leaders. Behind him are the fan-bearers and before him is his chariot waiting. Below his figure (only in Luxor and Abu Simbel) is shown his bodyguard consisting of Egyptians and Sherden, and also the beating of the two Hittite spies who eventually told the truth about the location of the Hittite army. In Abu Simbel and the Ramesseum, the text of the Bulletin accompanies this scene. This is when the king first learned the unpleasant news; the enemy was closer than anyone expected. The onslaught of the Hittite chariotry is shown yet again on the extreme right at Abu Simbel. They are encountered by the sons of the king in their chariots. On the extreme left (Luxor, right) we see the arrival of the troops of the N'rn in close formation consisting of chariotry and infantry. They march on the camp with complete discipline. The attack of the Hittite chariotry and its encounter with that of the Egyptians is shown at the top. In Abu Simbel it forms a kind of frieze that separates the bottom half from the top one.

Four excellently preserved versions of the Battle are to be found: once on the east wing of the pylon of Luxor, twice at the Ramesseum (south wing of the first pylon and north wing of the second) and occupying the top half of the north wall of Abu Simbel. The injured scenes at Abydos, Karnak and Luxor and chiefly those of the Battle.

The main elements of the Battle, which are repeated in all the versions, consist of the charging king, masses of the enemy, the Orontes river, the moated city of Qadesh and Muwatallis with his infantry behind it. Ramesses is always seen in his chariot shooting an arrow at the enemy. His span is depicted at full gallop trampling down the enemy. As mentioned in the Poem, he is always surrounded by the enemy on all sides. Although his figure is on a larger scale compared with others, he does not really dominate the scene. In Luxor and Abu Simbel he is depicted on the same level as the representation of Qadesh. At the second pylon of the Ramesseum he is depicted slightly below its level, while on the first pylon he is well below it. Before him are masses of the defeated enemy, in great confusion, dead, dying, running and seeking refuge in the city or falling into the river. At Abu Simbel the number of the enemy is reduced, but at Luxor and the Ramesseum we see masses of them. In this great confusion of bodies the artists tried to identify some celebrities. Thus we have Sptr brother of the Hittite king, Trgnns, his charioteer, Grbts, his shield-bearer, Kmyt, head of the thr-warriors, and so on[1].

On the second pylon of the Ramesseum we find the comic group of the

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(1) Gardiner, Kadesh Inscriptions, pp. 39 ff.

prince of Aleppo being held upside down "being emptied (of water) by his soldiers after his majesty had thrown him into the water"[1].

The river Orontes is shown horizontally at Luxor and Abu Simbel and diagonally in both versions of the Ramesseum. In Abu Simbel and the Ramesseum, it encircles the city of Qadesh, then widens out in front of it. In Luxor it appears to surround the city on three sides and flows in two branches to the right leaving two openings on the left and right, used by the chariotry to enter into the city. This is probably the version closest to the truth, since one of the branches must show the river Orontes and the other will represent the Brook of el-Mukadiyeh. However, the city itself is shown as a conventional Syrian fortress with two ramparts (Abu Simbel, only one) depicted superposed, and with rounded battlements. Inside the fortress is the inscription, "The town of Qadesh". Its defenders are on the verge of surrender.

On the other bank of the river, behind the city of Qadesh, is Muwatallis and his infantry and further chariotry. He is depicted on a scale larger than that of his soldiers. He is always in his chariot, driving away while looking back on the battlefield. The inscriptions describe him as, "The wretched chief of Hatti standing (looking) back (in) fear of his majesty"[2]. In Luxor, top left, we see the messenger in his chariot meeting the van of the division of Ptah. These are represented as a number of soldiers carrying banners, others armed with spears and shields and

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(1) Ibid., p. 41.

(2) Gardiner, Kadesh Inscriptions, p. 41.

two warriors in a chariot. In Abu Simbel we see a number of messengers either in a chariot or on horse-back hurrying to bring the division of Ptah which is marching on the extreme right.

After the battle was over, it seems that Ramesses celebrated his alleged victory. In Abu Simbel we see him sitting on the rear of his chariot escorted by his bodyguard. Before him are his sons and two officials and scribes. They lead in three lines of Hittite prisoners while the scribes are busy counting the cut off hands of the enemy. This same scene also existed at Karnak (west wall between pylons VIII-IX)[1], Luxor (west wall of the Processional Colonnade)[2] and on a bigger scale at Abydos[3]. Finally, on the outside south wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak (over the Poem) we see the presentation of prisoners to the Theban Triad. On the right are Amun and Mut seated and Khonsu standing. On the left the king proceeds with a bow and sword in one hand, addressing the Triad with the other outstretched. He leads three lines of prisoners, assisted by his royal children.

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(1) Kuentz, op.cit., pl. XXXI.

(2) Ibid., pl. XXXVIII.

(3) Wreszinski, Atlas, II, pls. 24-25.

The scenes of the battle of Qadesh constitute, undoubtedly, the zenith of all previous attempts and ventures of the Egyptian artist to give a specific rendition of a specific event. Moreover, dealing with the events and different aspects of this battle, the artists of Ramesses II proved themselves to have possessed a great deal of imagination and originality. Unfortunately, their brave attempt was the last one.

It is clear that the artists of Ramesses II boldly exploited the inventions of the previous artists of the New Kingdom to the full. Thus, they devoted entire walls to the rendering of one event. At Abydos the scenes of the Battle extend even from one wall onto another. Accordingly the wall was treated as one entity and the tyranny of the register system was conquered. This attitude, as we know, began in the Deir el-Bahari reliefs of queen Hatshepsut where we find the reliefs of Punt running from the west on to the south wall, and was extended in the reliefs of Amarna when a complete wall was often devoted to one subject. Another invention of the New Kingdom artists is the winding strips of water, of which examples are found in the tombs of Nakht[1] and Neferhotep[2]. In

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(1) Davies, Nakht, I, pls. XVIII, XXI.

(2) Davies, Neferhotep, II, pl. III.

the winding waters of the Orontes river and the Brook of el-Muḳadiyeh, this invention was employed with complete mastery.

So far as the other features of the Qadesh reliefs are concerned, it will be useful to consider them in relation to the literary account of the events, particularly the so-called Poem. Apart from the actual events of the march to Qadesh and the battle we find that the Poem stresses two facts. First, it gives minute details of the locations and manoeuvres of the armies as well as the topographical aspects of the site. Many examples of this concern could easily be found while reading the Poem. Suffice it to mention, for instance, that the Hittite army, "stood concealed and ready to the north-east of the town of Qadesh"[1], that the division of Pre was "Crossing the ford in the neighbourhood south of the town of Shabtuna at a distance of one itr from where his majesty was"[2], and so repeatedly.

The second concern of the Poem is to emphasise the personal courage of the king during the unexpected Hittite attack. His army abandoned him and he had to face the enemy almost alone. Leaving the

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(1) Gardiner, Kadesh Inscriptions, p. 8.

(2) Loc.cit.

exaggeration and boasting aside, the Poem underlines the human side of the king. Here we read the moving passages about the deserted king calling for the help of his father Amun, and the poetic dialogue between the king and Menna, his shield-bearer. We read also of the tremendous courage of Ramesses compared with the cowardice of his soldiers. However, his courageous behaviour is that of a man facing a desperate situation, and not that of a god. This, in turn, highlights the vulnerability of the king, being surrounded by the enemy.

Now when the artists came to translate these events into reliefs they met with a certain amount of difficulty resulting on the one hand from the difference in nature of expression between art and literature, and on the other from the conventional methods of Egyptian art in particular. However, they achieved a great measure of success. They certainly went to great pains to show the topographical features of the site of the battle. As pointed out by Professor Breasted, the orientations on the reliefs do not correspond to real life[1], but this was due to no mistake of the artists, but rather to the conventions of the art.

Topographically, the site of the battle is shown like a map. The

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(1) Battle of Kadesh, pp. 41 ff.

river Orontes plays a notable role in the composition. Its winding strips surround the city of Qadesh. It also divides the representation into independent sections, and so separates the attacking figure of the king from Muwatallis and his infantry. In many cases it supplants the base-lines for the troops. Above all it determined a definite location for the events depicted. In this connection we may notice that although the city of Qadesh is shown in the Ramesside manner as a typical Syrian fortress, the waters of the Orontes and the Brook of el-Mukadiyeh signify the nature of its location and stress its singularity. Consequently, the characters involved are not acting in a void, rather they are tied to a particular place.

With regard to the treatment of the king in the battle, the reliefs run in close parallel with the Poem. He is shown in the time-honoured image, victorious in his chariot shooting at an enemy in turmoil. Yet, surprisingly, he is never depicted dominating the scene in spite of the fact that his figure is bigger than all others. Moreover, the enemy is not wholly defeated since we see their chariotry engaged in conflict with the Egyptians and they even surround the king completely as mentioned in the Poem time and again. Besides, a large portion of the Hittite army is still shown on the other bank of the river. This indicates that a total defeat of the enemy was not set forth. The traditional theme of

the dominating god-like king whose victory is a matter of fact, is not explicitly portrayed in the reliefs. Instead, we have a courageous man facing and surrounded by a stubborn enemy. The transcendent nature of the king and the timeless qualities of the events he performs are almost entirely ignored. Here the artists show a young king in a most perilous plight in the face of which he shows a man's courage to save himself and his army from a catastrophic defeat. All these factors underline the vulnerability of the king and emphasize his humanity rather than divinity. In fact the reliefs of the battle of Qadesh exhibit more humanity in Ramesses II than all the reliefs of Amarna showed of Akhenaten.

In the reliefs as well as in the Poem, the roles played by private individuals, however small they may be, are significantly recognised. Thus, we see the vizier and the messengers in action. Egyptian troops and foreign auxiliaries are engaged in the fighting side by side with the king. Furthermore, the critical role of the N'rn who saved the day for Ramesses is fully appreciated in both texts and reliefs.

In conclusion, in the battle scenes of Qadesh we find, for the first time, that what attracts the eye of the viewer is not the dominant figure of the king but the panoramic representation of the battle. In other words, the traditional theme of a pharaoh dominating and over-

shadowing the scene was sacrificed for the sake of an overwhelming and impressive representation of the battle as a whole. This provided the scenes with all the qualities of a successful pictorial narrative.

3. The Wars of Ramesses III

The wars of Ramesses III, the last great pharaoh of the empire, are recorded in reliefs and inscriptions in his stupendous temple of Medinet Habu and in the little temple in the precinct of the temple of Mut, together with a few scenes in his Amun temple, both at Karnak. As we mentioned above[1], Ramesses III fought three definite campaigns, i.e. the first Libyan campaign in year five, the campaign against the Sea Peoples in year eight and the second Libyan campaign in year eleven. Besides, the reliefs at Medinet Habu and Karnak indicate a fourth campaign, probably after year eleven, in Asia. This campaign, however, is uncertain although it cannot be dismissed entirely. As for an alleged Nubian campaign, depicted in Medinet Habu, these reliefs are conventional and probably have no bearing on historical facts.

a) The Nubian War Scenes

These highly conventional scenes occupy the exterior southern half

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(1) Supra, pp. 297-299.

of the rear (west) wall of the temple of Medinet Habu[1]. They consist of three episodes, i.e. battle, return to Egypt, and presentation of spoils and prisoners to Amun (pl. 72.A). First, on the extreme right we see the dominating figure of Ramesses III in his chariot, facing right and shooting an arrow against the Nubians. The latter are shown running in front of him or trodden under the hooves of his span. On the top right are two trees behind which some Nubians are hiding. The king's sons, also in their chariots, take part in the battle, shooting arrows at the enemy. We also see Sherden auxiliaries fighting on the Egyptian side. Next, Ramesses is shown in his chariot, facing left and driving back to Egypt while accompanied by his sons, also in their chariots. Files of Nubian prisoners (damaged) are driven in front of him. Finally the king is seen wearing his Atef-crown, dragging three files of prisoners and presenting the spoils of war to Amun who is seated in a shrine (head lost) with the goddess Mut standing behind him.

b) The First Libyan War

In year five of his reign, Ramesses III went to war against a

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(1) Medinet Habu, I, pls. 8-11; texts are translated by Edgerton and Wilson, Historical Records of Ramses III, pp. 1-4.

coalition of the tribes of Rebu (Libu), Meshwesh and Seped. According to the inscriptions of year five[1], this war flared up because the king of Egypt imposed on his western neighbours a chieftain whom they did not want[2]. But the real cause of the war was the persistent desire of the Libyans to settle in the rich land of the Western Delta.

The scenes recording this campaign occupy the exterior north half of the rear wall and extend onto the western part of the exterior north wall of the temple of Medinet Habu (pl. 72 B)[3]. Other scenes of the same campaign, duplicate and complementary, occupy the bottom register of the western face of the south wing of the second pylon and extend onto the interior south wall of the second court of the same temple (pl. 77 A)[4]. The scenes on the rear and west walls develop from rear to front while those on the pylon develop from right to left with the scenes of the celebration of victory on the south wall beside the long inscription of year five.

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(1) The long inscription of year five occupies a large part of the interior south wall of the second court. It is published in Medinet Habu, I, pls. 27-28, and translated by Edgerton/Wilson, op.cit., pp. 19-34.

(2) Ibid., p. 25, line 30.

(3) Medinet Habu, I, pls. 12-18, 21-22.

(4) Ibid., pls. 19, 23-26.

The first scene of the series is on the rear wall. Here we see Amun seated while behind him stands Khonsu. Before them, is Ramesses in the blue crown receiving the sickle-sword (symbol of victory) from the god. This is followed by a scene in which the king (head and shoulders lost) leaves the shrine of Amun after being commissioned by the latter to conduct the war against the Libyans. He holds his bow in one hand and the sickle-sword in the other. Behind him is the war-god Montu and in front of him four standard-bearers carry the standards of Wepwawet, Khonsu, Mut and Amun (?). The last scene on the rear wall shows the king just stepping into his chariot to start the march to the war. Behind him are three rows of princes and personal attendants. They are armed with bows, spears and shields. In front of the king's span are two lines of soldiers also armed. A bugler is blowing his bugle while all the soldiers, attendants and princes bow at the appearance of His Majesty.

The first scene on the exterior south wall shows the Egyptian army on the march. On the extreme right the king drives his chariot, accompanied by his tame lion. In front of the horses are four armed soldiers forming the bodyguard of the king. Preceding them is another chariot, on the same scale as that of the king, driven by a prince and carrying the standard of Amun. A bugler is seen sounding a call in front of the second span. Phalanges of the Egyptian army arranged in racial groups,

Egyptians, Sherden, Asiatics and Nubians, are marching on the left in close formations while on the bottom line advances the chariotry.

Next comes the battle scene (pl. 73). On the right, the king is shown in his chariot, leaning slightly forward, while shooting an arrow. Under the horses and in front is a hand-to-hand combat between the Egyptian soldiers and the Libyan enemy. The latter, of course, are seen defeated, slain, dying or surrendering. On the top left are a number of their cheiftains, some pierced with arrows and others submitting. On the bottom right the Egyptian chariots participate actively in the battle. The Libyans are characterised by their side-locks, long open cloaks and short tunics. Another version of the battle scene is portrayed on the extreme right of the west face of the south wing of the second pylon of the temple. Here we find all the elements present in the previous scene, i.e. the dominating figure of the king in his chariot, the Egyptian chariotry and infantry and the defeated foe. Neither scene mentions the location in which the battle took place. However, it must have been somewhere in the Western Delta, probably near the town called "Usermare-Meriamun-is-the-Chastiser-of-Temeh", shown in the next scene.

Back on the exterior north wall, we find that after the battle was over, the king celebrates his victory. This is the last scene of the series of the first Libyan war on this wall. To the left is Ramesses on the

balcony of a palace, presumably in the fort which is shown over the horses, addressing his officials in a manner strongly reminiscent of Amarna art. Behind him is his chariot waiting and over it is the representation of the Egyptian fort called "Usermare-Meriamun-is-the-Chastiser-of-Temeh"[1] in which this ceremony is probably taking place. Below the chariot and the king is an escort of Egyptian soldiers. On the extreme right are five lines of princes and high officials leading Libyan prisoners. We also find officials counting three piles of cut-off hands and two heaps of phalli. This same scene was repeated with some variation on the interior south wall of the second court beside the inscription of year five. But here we see the king sitting in the rear of his chariot instead of standing on a balcony and we find only four lines of prisoners and one pile of phalli. This scene seems to be out of place; it should normally have been on the west face of the pylon, following the battle scene. But it appears that the artists found it appropriate to place it next to the inscriptions.

However, the reliefs on the west face of the pylon continue the story with two scenes. In the first we see the king driving to the left,

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(1) This name is now lost, see Breasted, Ancient Records, IV, p. 29, footnote (d).

towards the entrance; he is returning in triumph to Egypt. Behind him two of his sons carry fans, and before him come the lines of bound captives. In the bottom line is an escort of soldiers, consisting of Egyptians, Sherden, princes and high officials. Next is the scene of the presentation to Amun. The king, facing left, drags in three lines of bound captives and presents them to Amun who is seated in a shrine and behind whom stands Mut.

c) The War against the Sea Peoples

The most dangerous enemy that Egypt and Ramesses III yet had to face, in year eight, is undoubtedly that which came from the North. Our sources of information for this war are several. They include a long inscription, commonly called the Inscription of Year 8, on the east face of the north wing of the second pylon in Medinet Habu[1], the reliefs on the north wall of the same temple, and Papyrus Harris[2]. Besides, the Inscription of year five makes references to some episodes in this war[3].

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(1) Medinet Habu, I, pl. 46; translation in Edgerton-Wilson, op.cit., pp. 49-58.

(2) Breasted, Ancient Records, IV, § 403.

(3) Edgerton-Wilson, op.cit., pp. 30-32, (lines 51-58).

According to the Inscription of year 8, a confederation of peoples consisting of Peleset, Tjekker, Sheklesh, Danuna and Weshwesh[1] "made a conspiracy in their isles. Removed and scattered in the fray were the lands at one time. No land could stand before their arms, from Hatti, Qode, Carchemish, Arzawa and Alashiya"[2]. Having thus destroyed the Hittite empire, the Sea Peoples swept south into Syria as far as Amurru where they halted for a while apparently to rest and concentrate their forces before they continued their march southwards. Facing this sweeping danger, Ramesses III organised his frontier in Djahi[3] and "caused to be prepared the river-mouth like a strong wall with warships, galleys and skiffs"[4]. Having prepared himself for the invaders, Ramesses met them in two battles. The first took place somewhere in Syria/Palestine. The second was a naval battle whose location is said to be r3-h3wt and designated as the 'Nile Mouths'[5]. The Egyptian victory in both battles

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(1) Papyrus Harris adds the Sherden, Breasted, loc.cit.

(2) Yereth= Arzawa (Cilicia) and Yeres = Alashiya (Cyprus), cf. Edgerton-Wilson, op.cit., p. 46, footnote 17a.

(3) Palestine and Syria, see Gardiner, Onomastica, I, 145*.

(4) Translation from Gardiner, Egypt of the Pharaohs, p. 285.

(5) Edgerton-Wilson, op.cit., p. 31, footnote 53a.

was so decisive that we do not hear of any more trouble from this quarter during the remainder of the reign of Ramesses III.

The set of scenes recording the events of this war occupy the rest of the outside north wall as far as the second pylon. They consist of seven scenes developing from rear to front, i.e. from west to east[1]. Besides, there is another scene on the east face of the south wing of the second Pylon[2].

The first scene in the series shows the issuing of equipment to the army. On the right we find Ramesses III standing on a rostrum addressing a number of his high officials. Behind him are two princes carrying fans. On the top are officials and leaders of the army kneeling and hailing the king. On the top left is a bugler sounding a call. In the middle are scribes and officials giving out military equipment to the leaders of the army. They consist of helmets, spears, bows, sickle-swords, quivers, shields, etc. At the bottom a prince gives orders to be taken down by a scribe and more officials.

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(1) Medinet Habu, I, pls. 29-43; texts in Edgerton-Wilson, op.cit., pp. 35-48. Cf. our pl. 74.

(2) Medinet Habu, I, pl. 44.

This scene is followed by the march to Djahi. The king in his chariot accompanied by his tame lion, is preceded by serried phalanxes of his army. Over them is written, "His majesty sets out for Djahi like unto Montu, to crush every country that violates his frontier". At the bottom we find more troops as well as the chariotry. Next comes the battle scene (pl. 75). On the right is the king in his chariot shooting arrows. The enemy is shown completely defeated and disorganised. Egyptian chariotry and infantry take their full part in the battle. The enemy's carts drawn by oxen have been captured. Unfortunately no location of the battle is shown or even mentioned in the explanatory texts. At his leisure Ramesses went hunting lions in Syria. Here we see him in his chariot turning back to spear a lion which was attacking from the rear. Under the horses is a lion lying dead while a third lion pierced with four arrows is running into a thicket on the left. This scene, though it could represent an actual event, has a symbolic meaning since the lions could represent Egypt's foes. At the bottom are Egyptian troops consisting of Egyptians, Sherden, Peleset (?) and Nubians as well as chariotry, moving to the left, as if to the next scene.

Next comes a unique scene, the naval battle (pl. 76). It is very rare indeed to find a scene of a naval battle in Egyptian art. In fact all

that we know of are two scenes, the Gebel el-ʿArak knife handle[1] and the unpublished scene in the tomb of General Intef of the XIth Dynasty[2]. Naturally, the Medinet Habu scene is the most complex. The Inscription of year five says of this battle, "Those who came on [land ⌜were over-thrown and slaughtered⌝ --]... . They that entered into the Nile mouths were like birds ⌜ensnared⌝ in the net"[3]. The year 8 Inscription says: "As for those who came forward together on the sea, the full flame was in front of them at the Nile mouths, while the stockade of lances surrounded them on the shore, (so that they were) dragged (ashore), ⌜hemmed in,⌝ prostrated on the beach, slain and made into heaps from tail to head. Their ships and their goods were as if fallen into the water"[4].

Turning to the reliefs, we find that they correspond, more or less, to the textual statements. The scene is divided into two horizontal halves. The upper half shows Ramesses III standing on shore at the the right. Behind him is his chariot over which is the text, "Now the Northern countries, which were in their isles, were quivering in their

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(1) Supra, pp. 39 ff.

(2) Supra, p. 122.

(3) Edgerton-Wilson, op.cit., pp. 30-31.

(4) Ibid., pp. 55-56.

bodies. They penetrated the channels of the Nile mouths . . . His majesty is gone forth like a whirlwind against them, fighting on the ⌜battle-field⌝ like a runner. The dread of him enetered into their bodies; (they are) capsized and overwhelmed in their places. Their hearts are taken away; their soul is flown away. Their weapons are scattered in the sea. His arrow pierces whom he has wished among them, while the fugitive is become fallen into the water"[1]. The king steps, symbollically, on a number of prostrated enemies. He shoots arrows at the foes in the water. Before him are four archers, probably princes, also shooting arrows. On the left is an encounter between four Egyptian vessels and five enemy warships. The nine warships are arranged in three horizontal rows. The Egyptian warships are recognisable by their figurehead of a lioness devouring the head of an Asiatic at the prow. The enemy's warships, meanwhile, are manned by Peleset and Sherden, and have a bird head at each end. The invading fleet is hemmed in and its warriors, pierced by the arrows of Pharaoh and his archers, are falling helplessly into the water. In the bottom row one of the ships has capsized while on the extreme left of the same row an Egyptian ship loaded with prisoners moves out of the battle. The lower half of the

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(1) Ibid., p. 41.

scene is occupied by Egyptian officials and infantry on the right and a number of officers driving prisoners on the left. They all move towards the left to join in the celebration of victory[1].

Now the battle is over and Ramesses III is celebrating his victory. He stands on the balcony of a palace in the "Migdol of Ramesses III", which is shown top left. Behind him is his chariot waiting. His officials and sons present him with the prisoners of war while scribes count two heaps of cut-off hands of the enemy. On the bottom line are groups of captives led by officials who brand them on the shoulder; then they are enrolled in gangs.

On his return from the war, Ramesses III had to present his prisoners to Amun. This scene occurs in two versions. The first one is on the outside north wall. The king leads two lines of prisoners; the upper one is Sea Peoples, while the lower one contains Libyans. He offers them to Amun, seated in a shrine while behind him stand Mut and Khonsu. The second version of this scene is on the east face of the south wing of the second pylon. Here the king wearing the Atef-crown drags three lines of Sea Peoples as captives. On the left stand Amen-re and Mut.

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(1) An excellent study of the naval battle was made by H. H. Nelson, "The Naval Battle Pictured at Medinet Habu", JNES 2 (1943), pp. 40-55.

d) The Second Libyan War

The great victory against the Sea Peoples, though it secured the eastern frontier, was not the end of the external troubles of Egypt. Soon trouble flared up on her western frontier. According to Papyrus Harris, "The Libu and Meshwesh were settled in Egypt and had seized the towns of the western Tract from Hikuptah (Memphis) to Ḳeroben (near Abu Qir?), and reached the great River on its every side"[1]. This seems to have been a penetration into the Delta. However, in year 11, Keper, prince of the Meshwesh, sent his son Mesher at the head of an alliance consisting of Meshwesh, Libu, Asbat, Kaikash, Shaytep, Hasa and Bakan to overrun the Delta. Ramesses III marched against them and the two armies met at a place called Ḥat-shaʿt where the invaders suffered a crushing defeat. Mesher was taken as a prisoner and when his father came begging for his release, he was slain.

Besides Papyrus Harris, our information about this was comes from a long inscription, known as the Inscription of year 11, on the west faces of the two wings of the first pylon[2], so-called poem on the Libyan war of

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(1) Gardiner, Egypt of the Pharaohs, p. 287.

(2) Medinet Habu, II, pls. 79-83; translation in Edgerton-Wilson, op.cit., pp. 71-87.

year 11, on the east face of the north wing of the first pylon[1], and a series of reliefs at Medinet Habu and probably the temple of Ramesses III in the precinct of the temple of Mut together with the Libyan scenes in Amun's temple of Ramesses III, both at Karnak.

The scenes of Medinet Habu are arranged in consecutive order on the exterior north wall of the first court (lower register) and extend on the exterior west face of the north wing of the first pylon (pl. 77B)[2]. Generally speaking, the episodes on this wall develop from east to west. That is to say, they move in the opposite direction to the scenes of the first Libyan war and the war against the Sea Peoples. Therefore, the concluding scenes of the two relief series meet at the second pylon, which is strongly reminiscent of the system used in the reliefs of Seti I at Karnak which converge on the central doorway. In addition, three individual scenes are depicted on the interior extreme left of the south wall of the first court[3] and on the west faces of the south and north wings of the first pylon, under

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(1) Medinet Habu, II, pls. 85-86; translations of texts in Edgerton-Wilson, op.cit., pp. 87-94.

(2) Medinet Habu, II, pls. 67b, 68-70, 73, 74, 77, 78.

(3) Ibid., pl. 62.

the Inscription of year 11[1].

The scene showing Ramesses III marching to the war is depicted on the interior east end of the south wall of the first court. The heraldic figure of the king in his chariot drives to the left while accompanied by his tame lion. Behind him advance his sons and courtiers. In front of him are four lines of Egyptian soldiers, Sherden and Nubian auxiliaries and three princes, all advancing at the sound of a bugle. In a line at the bottom of the scene march more Egyptian troops and courtiers. As the explanatory legends are generalised we do not know for sure whether this scene is part of the second Libyan war; but as the figures are moving towards the pylon on which is depicted a battle with the Libyans, one assumes that the two scenes are related.

The battle with the Libyans is shown in two places. First, it is depicted on the extreme east end of the north wall, exterior (pl. 78). Ramesses III, facing left, is charging the enemy in his chariot. Behind him is Egyptian chariotry and infantry. The enemy is utterly defeated and those who are still alive are either surrendering or being slain by Egyptian troops. On the top left are the two Egyptian forts between which

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(1) Ibid., pls. 71, 72, 75.

the battle took place, namely the town of Ḥat-shaʿ and the town of Ramesses III which is upon the mountain of Upta. In each fort there are three Egyptian archers shooting arrows at the enemy. The text over the forts gives a short account of the event, "The [slaughter which his majesty made among the foe of] the land [of the Mesh]wesh, who had come to Egypt from [the town] of Ramesses III which is upon the mountain of Upta [to] the town of Ḥat-shaʿ, making eight iters of carnage among them".

The second version of the battle is on the west face of the south wing of the first pylon (pl. 79). The king in his chariot is charging against a great multitude of the foe. He is assisted by his chariotry and infantry. The text describing the battle in the last scene is repeated here over the defeated enemy. Amongst the confusion of the enemy a man drives away in his chariot while looking back and raising his hands towards pharaoh as if asking for mercy; he is "the chief Mesher, son of Keper".

The scene of the king binding his prisoners fills the space on the west face of the first pylon (exterior). In relation to the consecutive order of the episodes, this scene should be not here, but rather, as the second scene on the north wall. However, we see the king having dismounted from his chariot, trampling on a foe while binding two Libyans.

More bound or dead Libyans lie on the left. Below, four princes shoot at further Libyans and behind them march armed Egyptian troops.

The second scene on the north wall, next to the battle scene, shows Ramesses dragging away his prisoners and about to step into his chariot, waiting on the right. Then comes the celebration of victory. On the right stands the king addressing the crown-prince. Three lines of prisoners have been brought for him to review. The celebration of victory is depicted on a bigger scale on the west face of the north wing of the first pylon. Ramesses stands on a rostrum while the crown prince and two officials present to him the prisoners and booty from the war. A heap of hands and another of phalli have been counted. The Libyan prisoners are driving in their own horses and carrying their chariots. Among the captives is Mesher himself. On the bottom register is his father "The great one of the fallen ones of Meshwesh, Keper".

Back on the exterior north wall, after the celebration of victory, the king is shown driving back to Egypt. Two lines of captives precede him. On the right are four priests in two lines; they come with flowers to welcome the triumphant return of Ramesses III. Finally the king is seen presenting two files of prisoners to Amun and Mut.

The scenes of apparently the same war occupy the exterior west

wall of the temple of Ramesses III in the precinct of the temple of Mut at Karnak[1]. They develop from north to south and contain more or less the same elements. Unfortunately as the upper part of the wall is lost we have only the lower parts of the scenes, and even these are damaged. Nevertheless, we can still see the remains of the figure of Ramesses III in his chariot charging against the Libyans while assisted by his troops. This was followed by the scene showing the king dragging his prisoners while stepping into the chariot. Then came the celebration of victory. The king stood on the right, treading upon two enemies, and receiving the prisoners brought by his sons. Next we see the remains of the scene showing the king returning to Egypt, driving Libyan captives while followed by an escort of his troops. Finally came the scene in which the king presented his prisoners and spoils of war to the Theban Triad, shown in a shrine. As the Libyans in these scenes wear the phallic pouch like those fighting in the second Libyan war at Medinet Habu, we may deduce that these scenes refer to this same war[2].

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(1) Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak, II, pls. 116-120.

(2) W. Hölscher, Libyer und Ägypter, Munich, 1937 (repr. 1955),pp. 42 ff. notes the distinction between the Libu with tunics and Meshwesh with phallic pouches in the Medinet Habu reliefs in the first and second Libyan wars, but does not utilize the distinction for dating other reliefs as done here.

A number of war scenes occupy two registers on the exterior west wall, just behind the pylon of the temple of Ramesses III at Karnak. These scenes, which show signs of alterations, are badly mutilated. However, what remains of the lower register shows three scenes of war against the Libyans[1]. Two scenes show the king in the time-honoured attitude striking down a Libyan enemy. The third scene shows the remains of the celebration of victory. Though all these scenes are conventional there is one unique feature which we should mention. The battle scene on the left shows a number of Libyans fleeing and climbing a hill. One of them went into hiding in a cave, trying to escape the wrath of pharaoh. Here again, the Libyans wear the phallic pouch characteristic of those engaged in the second Libyan war, and these scenes also may be referred to this war.

e) The So-called Syrian Campaign

As we mentioned above the date and even the reality of this campaign are extremely doubtful. However, scenes of battles against Asiatic forts and peoples are found at Medinet Habu and Karnak. These scenes are considerably schematised and remind us of the typical scenes

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(1) Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak, II, pls. 81-82 (lower); the alterations of the characters of the scenes are discussed ibid., I, p. VIII.

of Ramesses II at Karnak, Luxor and other temples.

At Medinet Habu we have two sets of scenes (pl. 80). The first one occupies the upper register of the exterior west face of the first pylon and extends all along the upper register of the north wall of the first court[1]. Like the scenes of the second Libyan war, which occupy the lower register, the episodes develop from east to west. On the extreme left, the west face of the pylon, we see Ramesses attacking two Hittite towns. He is portrayed standing in his chariot having just loosed an arrow. Behind him are his infantry. The two Hittite towns are shown in typical Ramesside manner, superposed over one another. The Egyptian infantry have already entered the upper fortress and are slaying its defenders who are surrendering. The inhabitants of the lower town, called "Town of Arzawa", are also surrendering, some of them even lower their children over the wall as a sign of submission. Between the king and the two forts are the bodies of the enemy pierced with his arrows.

The first scene on the north wall shows Ramesses III attacking the fortified town of Tunip (pl. 81). He is in his chariot holding a Syrian

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(1) Medinet Habu, II, pls. 87-93.

enemy with one hand and is about to slay him with a sword in the other. He is assisted by Egyptian and foreign troops. Tunip stands on a hill on the left. Egyptian soldiers are hacking down its gateway while others climb its walls by scaling ladders. Those who have succeeded in doing so are slaying the defenders while a bugler sounds a call from the top of the fort. Other Egyptian soldiers are chopping down the trees around the town. The enemy between the king and the town are helpless, dead or dying. This scene is followed by another in which the king, on foot this time, is capturing an unnamed Syrian town. He treads upon two foes and holds a spear in one hand and a bow and shield in the other. Behind him is his chariot and escort of soldiers. The defenders of the city, which stands on a hill, are as usual on the brink of surrender. Having captured all these towns, the king celebrates his victory. He stands on the right (almost entirely lost) while the crown prince presents to him three lines of captives. This being done, the king then drives his captives back to Egypt where he presents them to Amun who sits in a shrine with Khonsu behind him.

The second set of scenes at Medinet Habu occupies the lower register of the interior north wall of the first court[1]. Like the scenes on the

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(1) Medinet Habu, II, pls. 94-99.

exterior, they develop from east to west. The series contains four scenes, three to the west of the side-entrance and one to the east of it. The first scene to the west shows Ramesses treading upon two foes and shooting an arrow at an Amorite fortress on the right. Those pierced by his arrows fall headlong while the others are submitting by lowering their spears and burning incense. The attack on the city was made by Egyptian infantry and Sherden auxiliaries. Behind the king is his chariot, below which is an escort of soldiers.

The celebration of victory is shown in the scene east of the side-entrance. Ramesses III stands on a rostrum, attended by his followers, and receiving three lines of Syrian captives who are presented to him by the crown prince and high officials. This scene is not in its right place, with regard to the order of the episodes. However, the king is then seen driving his chariot back to Egypt. The captives he drives represent most of the nations he had fought in all the previous wars, i.e. Meshwesh, Hittites, Peleset and Syrians. Three lines of priests and high officials receive him on his triumphal return. Finally, the king is shown presenting two lines of prisoners to Amun, Mut and Khonsu who stand in a chapel.

The scenes on the north side of the exterior west wall of the temple

of Mut are badly damaged[1]. However, the remains show the king (entirely lost) in his chariot attacking a Syrian fort (disappeared) on the left. He was assisted by Egyptian and foreign troops including the chariotry which took an active part in the battle. The second scene shows remains of the king celebrating his victory. Ramesses sat casually on the rear of the chariot while scribes and officials count the hands and princes bring captives.

The two scenes on the upper register of the exterior west wall of the Amun temple of Ramesses III at Karnak (over the Libyan scenes) are damaged and show signs of alterations[2]. One of the scenes depicts the king in his chariot attacking a Syrian enemy on the right. The second one shows him driving his chariot back to Egypt and dragging a line of captives, one of whom is a Libyan and the others are Syrians.

It is noticeable that the chief scenes recording the wars of Ramesses III are concentrated at Medinet Habu temple, particularly on the exterior north wall. The other scenes, whether inside Medinet Habu or at Karnak are mainly alternative versions of scenes on the exterior wall or are complementary to an incomplete series on that wall. However, the

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(1) Reliefs and Inscriptions of Karnak, II, pls. 114-115.

(2) Ibid., pls. 81-82 (upper).

chronological order of the wars on the exterior north wall moves from rear to front. Meanwhile, the consecutive episodes of each individual war develop towards the second pylon which acted as a meeting point for all the scenes. Therefore, the scenes on the rear parts of the wall develop eastwards while those on the first court develop westwards.

Each series of scenes contained mainly four episodes, i.e. the actual battle, the celebration of victory, the return to Egypt and the presentation of prisoners and booty to Amen-re in his temple. This standard rule allowed, of course, for additions or slight omissions. In the scenes of the first Libyan war, the artists added scenes showing the king being commissioned by Amun to undertake that task, the king leaving the temple of Amun, then stepping into his chariot and the march to the war. The reliefs of the war against the Sea Peoples show the king issuing equipment to his troops and omits the scene of the triumphal return to Egypt. The reliefs of the second Libyan war add scenes of the king binding and carrying his prisoners to his chariot.

In spite of the fact that these variations, together with other elements, add to our information about the wars, the reliefs in general are conventional and repetitive in nature. There is no doubt that the reliefs of at least the three dated campaigns do record actual events. It is true that

the primary purpose of these scenes is to emphasise the might and prowess of the king and to underline his role as the sole protector of Egypt. Fortunately, the medium that the artists chose to show these qualities and to express that role was more or less historical narrative. Thus, although the narrative as such was not intended for its own sake, yet it is there. However, the primary intent of the representations limited the scope of narrative. The episodes of each war develop smoothly one after the other in an almost complete and comprehensive manner so that each set of scenes tells an elaborate, clear and coherent story of a specific war. Yet, the pictorial nature of each episode is standardised to the extent that some of the episodes come down to mere pictorial statements.

In this connection it is probably worthwhile to draw a comparison between the textual and scenic records on the one hand and compare them with previous records, on the other hand. It was noticed that the inscriptions of Ramesses III are devoted to a poetic and flowery style rather than giving actual facts of the wars. Therefore they become "wearisomely repetitious, whole phrases and sentences recurring with little of no change and with unimaginative reiteration"[1]. Unlike the

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(1) Medinet Habu, I, p. V.

inscriptions of the battle of Qadesh, for example, the texts of Ramesses III are rather rhetorical and very rarely give any specific event, location or characters. Instead they concentrate almost wholly upon the divine personality of the king.

These qualities are more or less repeated in the reliefs. The scenes are repetitive and conventional. Each scene is mainly centred around the heroic figure of the king. His commanding, dominating image is everywhere we turn and always attracts our attention more than the event depicted. In the battle scenes it is the king in his chariot that dominates the whole scene. The bodies of the enemy are always shown piled up and interwined in utter confusion. In such composition where the king is absolutely victorious and the enemy is utterly defeated, the divine power of the king meets no real challenge. That is why although this period was one of the most challenging and trying period for Egypt, the scenes are void of any dramatic tension. The artists had the chance of creating a dramatic tension in the battle scene of the second Libyan war where Mesher, the commander of the Meshwesh allies, was present at the head of his forces. But they missed this opportunity by showing him as a rather insignificant figure amidst the confusion of the enemy. They sacrificed this dramatic moment to emphasise the superiority of the king. Even the presence of the Egyptian and foreign troops in the battles does not reduce the supremacy of the king since their presence

was a mere influence of the scenes of the battle of Qadesh more than anything else. Furthermore, apart from some typical indications of locations, e.g. bushes in the Nubian war scenes and typical fortresses, the places of the battles are not known. Thus, in many cases the king is engaged in battles with his enemies, whether from the west or north-east, in undetermined settings. Once again, this is as vague in the reliefs as in the inscriptions.

Amongst all these aspects of conventionality, flash signs of originality now and then. When the king begins his march against the Libyans in the first Libyan war, we see him, in a dramatic moment, with one foot in the chariot and the other on the ground, the atmosphere of the moment is given by the bugler sounding a call and all of his courtiers at a standstill. It is a moment pregnant with feeling.

The scene of the naval battle occupies a unique place among the whole of the reliefs. True the king is present, but his figure does not dominate and the part he takes is rather symbolic than real. The fight itself is actually taking place on the sea and the real actors are the warships and the Egyptian and foreign soldiers. The representation of the enemies' boats being severely hemmed in by the Egyptians' is probably the only example of the reliefs showing dramatic tension. There is even a temporal element in the development of the naval battle as is clearly

shown by H. Nelson[1]. Finally, in the temple at Karnak, the Libyans who are escaping and climbing a hill while a wounded man hides in a cave, is a startling group, particularly in a typical scene.

In conclusion, the narrative scenes of Ramesses III mark a return to the conventional methods which prevailed in the pre-Amarna epoch. Thus the cycle of the artistic development in the New Kingdom is completed.

B. The Private Scenes

Similar to the XVIIIth Dynasty, the private tombs of the Ramesside age are concentrated mainly in the area of Western Thebes. Thus their reliefs and paintings fell under the influence of the conditions that controlled those of the previous period. Yet, the quality of relief and painting of the Ramesside epoch was generally on the decline. The peak in artistic style, delicacy and charm, which was reached in the middle of Dynasty XVIII, had long been passed. Rich in colour the paintings of the Ramessides may be, but they do not show the finesse, vitality and sensitivity of the previous period.

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(1) JNES 2, pp. 53 ff.

As for the subject-matter of the reliefs and paintings, we find a growing tendency towards symbolic, funerary and cult subjects. The scenes of daily life which gave the tomb decoration a sense of gaiety and happiness are becoming rarer. Instead, we find that scenes of the underworld with its strange creatures and mythological implications, are becoming increasingly dominant. The almost complete absorption in the world of the hereafter and the considerable diminution of worldly scenes is the more reason for the lack of scenes bearing on specific events. The best examples of this new phenomenon will be found in the tombs of Deir el-Medinah. These dark, vaulted burial chambers belonged to the artisans and workers of Western Thebes. They are adorned with scenes in harsh flat colours against a yellow ochre background. The figures are shown in thick black outline and the paintings are executed in a rather rough manner. The majority of the scenes deal with the mysterious realm of the underworld with its demons and weird beings. Even the agricultural pursuits do not depict worldly scenes, but rather scenes in the Elysian fields of Yalu[1]. In this manner, they are a reflection of the themes dominant in the royal tombs and remind us of the map-like vignettes from the papyrus rolls of the Book of the Dead.

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(1) E.g. B. Bruyère, La tombe No. 1 de Sen-nedjem à Deir el Médineh, Le Caire, 1959, pls. XXVII, XXXVIII.

Naturally, these are the general features to which we are bound to find exceptions. The tomb of the sculptor Apy No. 217 is but one of these exceptions[1]. Its scenes portray the usual subjects found in tombs from previous periods with almost the same liveliness and charm. Thus we find scenes of agriculture, fowling, fishing, wine-making, gardening, etc. We even find a scene in which Apy was rewarded by the king, a strong reminiscence of Amarna art[2]. The king, probably Ramesses II, is seen leaning out of a balcony bestowing his honours on Apy who extends a fan towards him and who is accompanied by the vizier, usually present on such occasions. Three other officials seem to have been rewarded also on that day.

Another official who was honoured by the king, Ramesses VI this time, was the deputy of Wawat, Pennē. He erected a statue of Ramesses VI in the temple of Ramesses II at Derr. Consequently the king decided to reward him with two vessels of silver which he sent with the Viceroy of Nubia. The scenes of this event are shown in an extremely formal way in the tomb of Pennē at ʿAniba[3]. On the left we see Ramesses VI enthroned

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(1) N. de G. Davies, Two Ramesside Tombs, New York, 1927.

(2) Ibid., pl. XXVII, pp. 47 ff.

(3) G. Steindorff, Aniba, 1937, Text, pp. 242 ff. and Plates, pl. 102; cf. also Breasted, Ancient Records, IV, §§ 474-478.

in a light kiosk. Before him stands the king's son of Kush whom the king addresses, "Give the two silver vessels of ointment of gums, to the deputy". Next we see the Viceroy after his arrival in Ibrim presenting the gifts to Pennē. The Viceroy is seen in front of the statue of Ramesses VI and behind him is his steward. On the extreme right is Pennē accompanied by two priests. He lifts his hands in a gesture of jubilation.

A destroyed scene showing Ramesses II standing in a balcony with his queen, appointing Nebwenenef as high priest of Amun, is depicted in the latter's tomb No. 157[1].

The scenes of rewarding the high officials in this period were not limited to the walls of the tombs only. A stela in the Louvre shows Seti I in a balcony bestowing honours on one of his officials[2]. Another stela (once thought to come from Tell Horbeit, but probably from Qantir[3]) shows Ramesses II showering gifts on his officials[4].

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(1) U. Hölscher, The Excavation of Medinet Habu, III, The Mortuary Temple of Ramesses III, part I, Chicago, 1941, p. 44, fig. 22; Porter and Moss, Bibliography, I, p. 267, (8).

(2) Hölscher, op.cit., p. 41, fig. 19.

(3) Cf. L. Habachi, ASAE 52, pp. 54 ff.

(4) Die Denkmäler des Pelizaeus - Museums zu Hildesheim, 1921, p. 96, fig. 33.

Perhaps more important are the two identical scenes on the bottom register of the exterior east wall of the court between pylons VII and VIII at Karnak[1]. In both scenes we find Ramesses IX wearing the blue crown and bestowing honours on Amenhotep, the high priest of Amun. The latter, standing, is shown on exactly the same large scale as that of the king, raising his hands in the traditional gesture of joy while two attendants are arraying him. Between the king and Amenhotep are stands bearing sacks of gold, vessels, collars, etc. Over him is a text which mentions that this important event took place in the forecourt of the temple of Amun, on the nineteenth day of the third month of the first season of the tenth year of the reign of Ramesses IX.

The majority of these scenes definitely depict actual events; yet the rendition is extremely conventional. They follow the same line of tradition which came in with the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty without showing any sign of imagination or originality. The scene at Karnak, however, is startling. It is the first case that we know of where a private scene is reproduced on the walls of a temple. Besides, it is the

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(1) G. Lefebvre, Inscriptions concernant les Grand Pretres d'Amon Romê-Roy et Amenhotep, Paris, 1929, pl. II. The two scenes however are in Kitchen, photos. I.10, I.13. Texts are translated in Breasted, Ancient Records, IV, §§ 493-498.

first example where we find a private individual depicted on the same heroic scale as the king. It demonstrates the strength of the servants of the crown in contrast to the constant decline of the power of the king. However, the rendition of the event is rigid and conventional. We know from the texts the place in which the event occurred, yet the rendition does not give any hint of it. The poses and gestures of the persons involved are typical and convey no temporal element whatsoever. Thus, although we know the definite date of the event, the representation is timeless.

The Oracle Scenes

On their festal processions and public appearances the images of some deities were approached by their priests to decide the appointment of certain individuals to particular posts, political or religious, or to settle a juridical dispute or to foretell the lifetime of a child. This oracular practice existed in Egypt from the first half of the XVIIIth Dynasty at least, since Hatshepsut consulted Amun before sending her famous expedition to Punt[1]. However, the pictorial representations of

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(1) Breasted, Ancient Records, II, § 285. For a full study see J. Černý, "Egyptian Oracles", in R. A. Parker, A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes, Rhode Island, 1962, pp. 35-48.

oracular events are very rare and only begin to appear from the XIXth Dynasty onwards.

A painting in the tomb of Amenmose[1], the first priest of Amenhotep of the Forecourt, seems to deal with a legal dispute between a certain Ramessenakht and one Ḥekanakht (pl. 27B). The portable statue of the deified king goes forth in a procession with fan-bearers from the pylon of a temple called "The House of Amenhotep-of-the-Forecourt", shown on the extreme right. Before this image, and facing it, is Amenmose himself wearing a leopard skin and holding a censer. He announces the juridical verdict that "The servant Ramessenakht is right and Ḥekanakht is wrong". This verdict is ratified by the god. Behind Amenmose are the two parties (largely lost) concerning whom the verdict is made. They are followed by a group of female musicians playing sistra, flutes and castanets. Over them are three kiosks filled with all kinds of offerings.

Another oracle scene is found this time not in a private tomb, but on the outside north face of the festival hall of Amenhotep II at Karnak[2].

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(1) No. 19 in Western Thebes, see G. Foucart, Le tombeau d'Amenmos, in MIFAO 57, 3, part IV, pls. 28-32.

(2) C. F. Nims, "An Oracle Dated in 'The Repeating of Births'", JNES 7 (1948), pp. 157-162.

Although this relief is on a temple, it deals with the appointment of Nesamun as scribe of the Storehouse of the Estate of Amun on the 28th day of the seventh year of the "Renaissance" under Ramesses XI, (year 25). The image of Amen-re is carried in a boat-shrine by a number of priests and accompanied by fan-bearers. Nesamun is seen on the right raising his hands in jubilation. Over him is Pi'ankh, Viceroy of Kush and first prophet of Amen-re while in front of him is the second prophet of Amun, Nesamen-re.

Both scenes depict actual events. But whereas the scene from the tomb of Amenmose shows specific details, that from the temple is extremely conventional. In the Amenmose scene we have a representation of the pylon of the temple from which the procession is moving, and we have also the kiosks containing offerings. These particular places enhance the actuality of the scene and emphasise its specific nature. The scene at the Karnak temple is formal and simple with no indication of place. However, it is taken as another example in which we find private scenes appearing on the temple walls.

CHAPTER VIII

EPILOGUE

The Late Period

When the XXth Dynasty, and the era of the New Kingdom came to its melancholy end around 1085 BC, Egypt entered into another age of weakness, disunity and relative obscurity. This period, which lasted for over four centuries and covered Dynasties XXI-XXV, may conveniently be called the Third Intermediate Period[1].

By the death of Ramesses XI, Nesbanebded of Tanis and Herihor, the high priest of Amun, seem to have reached a mutual agreement to secure their own interests. Accordingly, Nesbanebded was recognised as the sole pharaoh over the whole of Egypt while Herihor and his successors became the high priests of Amun and effective rulers of Upper Egypt. This amicable relationship between Tanis and Thebes was fostered by political marriages when we find Henttowy and Ma'kare, daughters of Nesbanebded and Pasibkhaemne I, getting married to, or associated with, the high priests Piankh (?) and his son Pinudjem I respectively[2]. During the epoch

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(1) As used by J. Yoyotte (e.g. Histoire Universelle, I, Paris, 1956 in Encyclopédie de la Pléiade), and others.

(2) Černý, CAH^2, pp. 46 ff; Kitchen, Third Intermediate Period, (forthcoming).

of this dynasty, however, Egypt maintained peaceful relations with her neighbours such that we hear of no expeditions abroad except that which was possibly undertaken by Siamun against the Philistines[1], as alluded to in the Old Testament[2]. This raid, however, was probably no more than a police action.

Around 945 BC, Pasibkhaemne II (Psusennes II), the last of the Tanite kings, died and the throne of Egypt passed with no opposition into the hands of a family of Libyan origin from Bubastis. This was one of the families which had infiltrated peacefully into Egypt and settled in the Delta. Its earlier rulers called themselves, "The chiefs of Ma", a short term for Meshwesh. A certain Shoshenq received a Tanite princess as a wife for his eldest son Osorkon, and consequent upon this and other family links, acceded to the throne on the death of Pasibkhaemne II; thus began the Libyan rule in Egypt which lasted for over two centuries and included Dynasties XXII-XXIII.

Among the Libyan kings, Shoshenq I occupies an outstanding position.

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(1) P. Montet, L'Égypte et la Bible, Paris, 1959, p. 40, fig. 5; Montet, Les constructions et le tombeau d' Osorkon II à Tanis, Paris, 1947, pl. IXA.

(2) Cf., 1 Kings, ix. 16, for conquest of neighbouring Gezer, iii.1 for alliance with Solomon.

By appointing one of his own sons as high priest of Amun he brought the whole of Egypt under his effective rule. Then he later conducted an expedition into Palestine and subdued the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, five years after the death of king Solomon[1]. The main purpose of this campaign, however, was to gain political and commercial security rather than imperial expansion. Shoshenq I was succeeded by a number of shadowy kings who called themselves Shoshenq, Osorkon and Takeloth alternatively. Consequently, local rulers became increasingly independent and the country was in effect divided into little kingdoms not without dissensions[2]. Moreover, an apparent split in the Libyan family resulted in the rise of another Libyan Dynasty (XXIII) under Pedubast which took Ta-remu (Leontopolis)[3],

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(1) A stela of Shoshenq was discovered at Megiddo, see C. S. Fisher, The Excavations of Armageddon, Chicago, 1929, p. 13 and fig.; see also a stela-fragment from Karnak, B. Grdseloff, RHJE 1 (1947), pp. 95-97, and the relief also at Karnak, G. R. Hughes et al, Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak, III, The Bubastite Portal, (OIP 74), Chicago, 1954, pls. 2-9.

(2) For Egypt's internal affairs, see H. Kees, Das Priestertum im Ägyptischen Staat vom Neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit, Leiden, 1953, and Die Hohenpriester des Amun von Karnak von Herihor bis zum Ende der Äthiopenzeit, Leiden, 1964; also R. A. Caminos, The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon, Rome, 1958.

(3) Modern Tell el-Muqdam; see J. Yoyotte, BIFAO 52 (1953), pp. 179-192.

in the east-central Delta, as its official residence and whose kings called themselves Shoshenqs, Osorkons and Takeloths also.

In Sais, in the western Delta, appeared a strong and ambitious prince, namely Tefnakht. He succeeded in uniting the princedoms of the whole west Delta under his rule. He then captured Memphis and advanced southwards where he laid siege toHerakleopolis. His intentions greatly alarmed another local, but strong, family which had made itself a formidable kingdom in Napata in Kush. The Kushite kings, being of purely Egyptian higher culture, considered themselves responsible for the protection of Thebes. Alarmed by the advance of Tefnakht southwards, Piankhy, the Napatan king, sent an army into Egypt which defeated Tefnakht in a river battle. The latter then fled into the Delta. Soon Piankhy himself came at the head of his army, entered Thebes, marched towards the North and captured Memphis[1]. In Memphis, and then fully at Athribis he received the submission of the Lower Egyptian rulers. But as Piankhy returned to Napata almost immediately, the Delta reverted to the leadership of Tefnakht who controlled the Delta as far as Memphis. However, in the year 715 BC, Shabako, Piankhy's successor, re-invaded Egypt and

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(1) A complete account of Piankhy's conquest of Egypt is narrated in the granite stela which he erected in the temple at Gebel Barkal; it is now in Cairo Museum; translation in Breasted, Ancient Records, IV, §§ 796 ff.

captured Bekenrenef, Tefnakht's son and successor, and, according to Manetho, burned him alive. This put an end to the short-lived Dynasty XXIV and began Dynasty XXV.

The successors of Shabako, Shebitko and Taharqa, got themselves involved in the affairs of Palestine; thus they clashed with the all-powerful Assyria. In 701 BC, Sennacherib attacked Hezekiah[1] of Judah and Shebitko sent Taharqa to assist the latter, but was heavily defeated. Then, when king,Taharqa was defeated twice by the Assyrians. In 671 BC, Esarhaddon invaded Egypt and Taharqa fled to Napata leaving his family in Memphis to be captured by the Assyrian king[2]. But on the death of Esarhaddon he came back to Egypt, only to be driven south again by Ashurbanipal[3]. Finally, in the year 663 BC, Tanutamani, Taharqa's successor, invaded Egypt and besieged and captured Memphis[4]. But he was easily defeated by Ashurbanipal who followed him upstream and sacked Thebes itself. Thus ended Dynasty XXV in Egypt.

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(1) ANET, pp. 287 f.

(2) Ibid., p. 293.

(3) Ibid., p. 294.

(4) See the Dream stela, found at Gebel Barkal, Breasted, Ancient Records, IV, §§ 919-934.

During this long strife between the Assyrians and Kushites, Nekō, prince of Sais and most probably a descendant of Tefnakht, established himself in the western Delta. When Ashurbanipal withdrew to Nineveh after the sack of Thebes, his son Psamtik I liberated Egypt from the Assyrian rule with the help of Gyges of Lydia. He then got his daughter Neitikeret (Nitocris) adopted by the God's Wife of Amun in Thebes[1]. Thus Egypt as a whole came under his rule and thereby the XXVIth Dynasty was established. During this dynasty Egypt enjoyed a period of prosperity and internal security. There also existed a movement towards archaism in art and other cultural phenomena. Externally, Nekō II regained for a short time part of Palestine. But he unwisely supported the waning Assyrians against the rising Babylonians. Thus his army suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of Nebuchadnezzar at Carchemish in 605 BC[2]. However, his successors Wahibrē' (Gk. Apries) and Ahmose II maintained a sort of domination on the coastal regions of Palestine and Syria. Soon after the death of Ahmose II (in the year 526 BC) Egypt was invaded by the Persians under Cambyses who put an end to the

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(1) This is related on a stela found at Karnak, cf. Breasted, Ancient Records, IV, §§ 935 ff, and R. A. Caminos, JEA 50 (1964), pp. 71-101.

(2) Cf. D. J. Wiseman, Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings, London, 1956, pp. 23-26, 66-69.

XXVIth Dynasty in 525 BC.

The Persian rule constitutes Dynasty XXVII. But the Egyptians repeatedly lapsed into rebellion and regained their independence for a short time c. 400-341 BC. during Dynasties XXVIII-XXX[1]. Of the latter dynasty Nekhtnebef (Nectanebo I) and his son Djedhor (Gk. Teos) are the most famous. Djedhor even attempted to regain parts of the Egyptian empire in Asia but was beaten, not by the arms of the external enemies but by the treachery of his brother who installed his own son Nekhtherhab. Djedhor fled to Persia and died in exile. Nekhtherhab (Nectanebo II) was the last native pharaoh. However, in 341 BC Artaxerxes III regained control of Egypt, but this did not last for more than nine years (Dynasty XXXI). In 333 BC Alexander the Great crushed the Persians at Issus then marched into Egypt in 332 BC putting an end to the Persian occupation and beginning an entirely new era in Egyptian history.

By the end of Dynasty XX Thebes ceased to be the centre of architectural activities. Instead, the kings of the Late Period excavated their tombs and built their temples in the North, in Tanis, Bubastis, Sais and

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(1) For this period see particularly F. K. Kienitz, Die Politische Geschichte Ägyptens vom 7. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende, Berlin, 1953.

Memphis, and in the case of the Kushite kings they concentrated their buildings in and around Napata. Some kings, however, added to standing temples or built chapels in Thebes. The shift of the main buildings to the North with its humid temperature and ever-rising soil is one of the main reasons that buildings from this period have either entirely disappeared or have been found in an appallingly fragmentary condition. Consequently, the material of relief and sculpture is considerably scantier. Nonetheless, what remains gives a general idea of the trends and development of styles until the end of the pharaonic era.

The material of the XXIst Dynasty is virtually limited to the tombs of the royal family which were built inside the enclosure of the temple of Tanis[1] and to the temple of Khonsu at Karnak, which although built in the XXth Dynasty was largely decorated in the XXIst[2]. The Libyan kings were also buried in tombs built in the enclosure of the temple at Tanis[3].

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(1) P. Montet, Les constructions et le tombeau de Psousennès à Tanis, Paris, 1951.

(2) For references see Porter and Moss, Bibliography, II, pp. 75 ff.

(3) P. Montet, Les constructions et le tombeau d' Osorkon II à Tanis, and Les constructions et le tombeau de Chéchonq III à Tanis, Paris, 1960.

In addition they added to existing temples and built some complete ones. Unfortunately most of the temples they built have either disappeared or are ruined. Shoshenq I, for example, built a temple at El-Hibeh in Middle Egypt[1] and began the great court at Karnak[2]. Osorkon II erected a chapel in the south east corner of the enclosure of this latter temple[3] and a festival hall at Bubastis. Of this hall, however, we have only the blocks of a granite gateway which were fitted together and formed one of the most complete scenes of the ceremonies of the sed-festival[4]. In all these buildings, and others, it is noticeable that the builders used blocks from earlier edifices. However, the reliefs in the temples and tombs of Dynasties XXI-XXIII are a continuation of the style of the Late Ramesside Period although they usually show poor workmanship and in many cases are inferior to their predecessors at Thebes.

As for the private tombs of this period, we find that in the Theban

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(1) Porter and Moss, op.cit., IV, p. 124.

(2) Hughes, loc.cit.

(3) Porter and Moss, op.cit., II, p. 71.

(4) E. Naville, The Festival Hall of Osorkon II in the Great Temple of Bubastis, London, 1892; the sed-festival scenes have been studied by E. Uphill, "The Egyptian Sed-festival Rites", JNES 24 (1965), pp. 365-383.

ones, painting has virtually disappeared. This is with the exception of tombs behind the Ramesseum, Dynasty XXII, which show some remains of painting[1]. However, from the end of Dynasty XX onwards, we have a series of painted papyri depicting satirical subjects which clearly reflect the mood of disillusionment that dominated this period[2].

From the short-lived Dynasty XXIV we have only the decorated vase of Bekenrenef, found in an Etruscan tomb at Tarquinia[3]. The decorative motifs as well as the manner in which the muscles of the figures are accentuated act as a forerunner for this same attitude in the reliefs of the Kushite period.

Naturally, the kings of the XXVth Dynasty concentrated their architectural activities in the vicinity of their capital, Napata. Piankhy enlarged the New Kingdom temple of Amun at Gebel Barkal[4] and in the

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(1) E. Quibell, The Ramesseum, London, 1896, pls. 22-23, p. 11.

(2) See Cairo Papyrus, M. Gauthier-Laurent, Mélanges Maspero 66 (1935-8), 684, Papyrus Turin, ZAS 80 (1955), 19, pl. III and G. Farina, La Pittura Egiziana, Milan, 1929, pl. CCIII.

(3) Smith, Art and Architecture, p. 242, fig. 76.

(4) Porter and Moss, Bibliography, VII, pp. 215 ff.

court he erected his famous stela. Taharqa, however, seems to have been the most active king with regard to buildings. For besides adding kiosks at the eastern and western approaches to Karnak and in front of the temple of Montu on the north[1], he built a temple at Sanam[2] and another at Kawa[3].

In the reliefs of the Kushite Dynasty we see the beginning of the revival in style. The reliefs and statues show a general attitude towards crude realism. This revival was inspired by the new spirit that dominated Egypt and forced Tefnakht in the North and Piankhy in the South to act simultaneously to deliver the country from disorder and confusion. Thus, although in the reliefs we find a continuation of the Late Ramesside Period, we also find a pronounced tendency towards archaism. In the temple of Taharqa at Kawa, the artists copied the scene of the king, shown as a sphinx, conquering a Libyan chieftain in the presence of his family[4]. This scene is copied from the temple of Sahure at Abusir and Pepi II at Saqqara[5]. It is worth noticing that the colonnade in which this scene was

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(1) Smith, op.cit., p. 241.

(2) F. Ll. Griffith, LAAA 9 (1922), pp. 67 ff. and pls. V-XLIII.

(3) M. F. L. Macadam, The Temples of Kawa, II, Oxford, 1955.

(4) Macadam, op.cit., pls. IX, XLIX, pp. 63 ff.

(5) Supra, pp. 69-71.

sculptured consists of palmiform columns just like the Vth Dynasty temples.

The revival and inclination towards archaism reached its peak during the XXVIth Dynasty, the Saite Period. Unfortunately no significant royal reliefs have survived from this epoch. But in a series of private tombs in Assasif in Western Thebes, and belonging to the end of Dynasty XXV and the XXVIth Dynasty, we find that the trend towards archaism has swept into dominance. The old themes, motifs and subjects are rendered in an old-fashioned manner in the tombs of Harwa (No. 37)[1], Akhamenru (No. 404)[2], Pedamenopet (No. 33)[3], Montuemhat (No. 34)[4], Ibi (No. 36)[5], and several others. A striking example is shown in the tomb of Ibi who went copying, scene by scene, from the tomb of his namesake at Deir el-Gebrawi. In many cases, however, we find Old and Middle Kingdom themes with New Kingdom details[6]. In other cases we find a mixture of

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(1) Porter and Moss, Bibliography, I^2, pp. 68-69.

(2) Ibid., p. 445.

(3) Ibid., pp. 50-56, cf. also J. Duemichen, Der Grabpalast des Petuamenap, I-III, 1884-1894.

(4) Scheil, Le tombeau de Montou-m-hat, Mem.Mis.Fra. V[2], pp. 613-23, for later bibliography, see J. Leclant, Montuemhat, Le Caire, 1961, pp. 171-173.

(5) Davies, Deir el-Gebrawi, I, pp. 36 ff., pls. 24-25.

(6) Smith, Art and Architecture, p. 274.

Old and New Kingdom subjects. The tombs in the North were decorated in the so-called Neo-Memphite style[1].

Of special interest are the series of tombs of the XXVIth Dynasty in the Bahria Oasis[2]. Their decorations are executed in painting, in a style continuing that of the Late Ramessides. The subject-matter of the scenes also deals with cult, mythological and underworld themes.

Most of the reliefs of the Saite revival show a considerable amount of technical skill in execution and freshness in conception. But the themes are traditional and lack originality. Hence, when we admire the skill in copying the old subjects, we regret the absence of any imagination or inspiration. This general attitude towards archaism, however, speaks eloquently of the spiritual drought in Egypt after the New Kingdom. The artists turned back to the old not to be inspired but to copy. Indeed the sacred flame which had burned in the heart of pharaonic Egypt kindling all the previous period of artistic achievements was fading away.

The short Assyrian rule and Persian occupation had no impact on

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(1) Ibid., p. 250.

(2) A. Fakhry, Bahria Oasis, I, Cairo, 1942, pp. 49 ff. and pls. XIII-XLI.

Egyptian art. The same may be said of the Greeks who came to settle in the Delta since the seventh century BC. However, in the XXXth Dynasty we begin to notice a change in the style due to mingling with the Greeks. The figures are becoming rounded with special emphasis on the muscles of the abdomen. We also notice that the breasts of the female figures are rounded. This heralded the style of art to be used throughout the Ptolemaic Period.

Due to all these circumstances, the scenes which have bearing on narrative are very rare indeed.

A. The Royal Reliefs

The military expedition which was probably undertaken by Siamun against the Philistines[1], seems to have been recorded in the great temple of Tanis. Unfortunately, all that remains of that record is a fragment of stone showing the king smiting a kneeling chieftain, largely lost, who holds an axe of Aegean origin. The rendition is extremely conventional. Also of extremely conventional nature is the scene recording the campaign conducted by Shoshenq I in Palestine, carved on the south façade of the

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(1) Supra, p. 424 , footnote 1 .

Bubastite Portal at Karnak[1]. Here the heraldic figure of the king is shown in the time-honoured pose, smiting the chieftains of foreign countries in front of Amen-re who presents him with the sword of victory and serried rows of Palestinian towns.

In both these cases we have the traditional pictogram of the ever-victorious pharaoh subduing his enemies.

The famous stela of Piankhy (pl. 82) is crowned with a scene of considerable significance, from our point of view[2]. In the centre is Amen-re seated with Mut standing behind him. Before him stands Piankhy, whose figure is terribly damaged. From the right proceeds 'king Nemrod' leading a horse and holding a sistrum while preceded by his wife. Below are three prostrate figures of 'king Osorkon', 'king Iuput' and 'king Pef-tjau-'awy-Bast'. Each one of them wears a royal uraeus on his forehead. On the left are five prostrate figures in two lines. One of them is the '[prince Pedies]et'[3] while the others are Libyan chieftains characterised

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(1) Hughes, op.cit., pls. 2-9.

(2) A. Mariette, Monuments divers recuillis en Égypte et en Nubie, Paris, 1872, pl. I.

(3) J. Yoyotte, Mélanges Maspero I, Fasc. 4 (1961), p. 162.

by the feathers on their heads. They are 'prince Petjunef', 'prince Pemou', 'Great chief of the Ma, Akonesh' and 'Great chief of Ma, Djedamen-iwfankh'.

An apparently similar scene recording the same event was depicted on the west wall of the court of the temple of Gebel Barkal. Unfortunately this scene is terribly destroyed so that all that remains are a few blocks showing men leading horses and princes paying homage to the Kushite conqueror[1], one of whom is the prince of Mendes.

In both these scenes we do not have the traditional pictogram of the king smiting his enemies, but rather a scene considerably analogous to the celebration of victory in the XIXth and XXth dynasty reliefs. The scene on the stela is formal and in fact it is more like an explanatory picture accompanying the text. Nonetheless, with its realistic characters together with the fact that it records a specific event, the scene does have the quality of narrative.

Some five loose blocks from the temple of Mut at Karnak[2] seem to record an important event at the beginning of the XXVIth Dynasty. The

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(1) Smith, Art and Architecture, pls. 173b and 174a.

(2) Margaret Benson and Janet Gourlay, The Temple of Mut in Asher, London, 1899, pls. XX-XXII and pp. 257-258.

fragmentary reliefs on these blocks were taken once as if to be dated to Piankhy and as a record of the return of an expedition from the south to Thebes[1]. It was Daressy who first suggested that these reliefs relate the arrival of Neitikeret at Thebes after being adopted by Shepenupet as 'God's Wife of Amun'[2]. The blocks, however, show parts of one register out of a series of probably two or three registers. Here we have a number of boats, eight at least, moving in a procession towards the quay (of Karnak?), which is represented by a tree and a temple-quay on which is an obelisk, a sphinx and a statue of a king making offerings. On the quay also is the figure of a lady (Shepenupet?) who welcomes the arrival of the boats. The latter are preceded by that of Amun followed by "The great barge of Sais", on board which is Sma-taui-tefnakht[3]. These are followed by the rest of the boats which were loaded with all kinds of gifts and treasures.

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(1) Loc.cit.

(2) G. Daressy, "Sam-taui-tefnekht", ASAE 18 (1918), p. 31, cf. also Yoyotte, RdÉ 8 (1951), pp. 232-233 and Smith, Interconnections, p. 178.

(3) It was thought at first that this was the famous Tefnakht of the XXIVth Dynasty; see Benson and Gourlay, op.cit., p. 258. But Daressy rightly identifies him with Sma-taui-tefnakht of the adoption stela, ASAE 18, pp. 30-31.

It is most unfortunate that the pictorial recording of this important event is preserved in such a fragmentary condition. For here we seem to have most of the elements required to provide a successful pictorial narrative. We have the specific event and the particular characters involved in it. Moreover, the procession is moving towards a fixed point, i.e. the quay. But our appreciation of the reliefs will not be complete unless the rest of the blocks are found.

B. The Private Scenes

As we have seen above, the decorated private tombs of the Late Period are relatively few. Even those which are decorated have only typical and traditional scenes. Therefore, it is no surprise that the private tombs of this period supply no narrative scenes at all. However, we have two oracle scenes, one depicted on the exterior south end of the wall between Pylons IX and X at Karnak[1] and the other on a papyrus in Brooklyn Museum[2]. The first one is legal and deals with the acquittal of a certain Thutmose under the priesthood of Pinudjem II. The second oracle is concerned with the appointment of a certain Harsiese in the service of Montu-Re-Harakhti. This occurred, according to the text, on

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(1) E. Naville, Inscription historique de Pinodjem III, Paris, 1883.

(2) Parker, A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes, pl. I.

the fifth day of the first month of Shemu in the 14th year of Psamtik I, when Amun was in a procession on the occasion of the festival of the new lunar month.

These two scenes evidently record actual events. But the rendition is conventional and apart from the characters involved, nothing else is specific. However, the colouring of the High Priest of Amun (Harkhebi) as a Nubian and the surviving details of the barque of Amun (name of Taharqa) in the papyrus lend an additional touch of reality to that scene.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSIONS

The problem of narrative in Egyptian pictorial art is closely connected with the Egyptian's conceptions of his world in general and with his understanding of art in particular. That conception and that understanding were both conditioned by historical and psychological factors. The Egyptian conceived the universe as an essentially static, rather than dynamic, entity; and social order was part of the cosmic order. The central figure of that order was the king himself whose acts were not those of a human being but of a god; they were not new but a mere repetition of those of the creator Re[1]. In an order like this, the idea of dynamism is completely ignored. Every aspect of life is eternal and unchangeable.

This conception took its final shape with the beginning of the historic period in Egypt. It is an ultimate, psychological result of the physiographical features of the country. Egypt was protected from the east and west by deserts; and the Nile flowing year by year without fail, brought

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(1) H. Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, 4th ed., Chicago, 1962, pp. 4, 5, and Ancient Egyptian Religion, Harper Torchbooks, New York, 1961, pp. 49, 51, 53, 58.

life to the country - these provided the Egyptians with a sense of security and self-confidence which they accepted and enjoyed at the same time.

During this same time of security and self-confidence the conventions and conceptions of Egyptian art were finally and firmly established. Thus, art reflected the same static, eternal attitude towards the subjects depicted and ignored the transitory aspects that might provide them with ephemeral qualities. Therefore, the main preoccupation of the Egyptian artists was to show typical, non-transitory happenings rather than specific events. Nonetheless, they practised the rendition of some forms of narrative. Thus, although scenes with narrative qualities, as we defined them, are not a dominant feature in Egyptian pictorial art, the fact remains that they did exist. How did that happen?

Throughout his search for ideas in predynastic times, the Egyptian artist moved free of conventions as they were not yet firmly established. Hence, in his attempts and experiments we find scenes that have most or all the qualities of narrative. These attempts culminated in the scene on the mace-head of the Scorpion King.

This drive towards narrative was abruptly cut short with the advent of the dynastic period and the establishment of the divine kingship. Thus, in the scenes of the Narmer Palette we found clearly expressed all the conventions and conceptions of kingship as reflected in art. Most

significant is the fact that although the representations on the Palette may recall definite historical events, the artistic treatment is rather idealised and ignores all the transitory and incidental aspects of the events. It is a typical rendition of a specific event.

As the grip of divine kingship grew stronger in the middle of the Old Kingdom, and as the conventions became ever more dominant, narrative scenes in this period became very rare indeed. This goes for the royal as well as the private scenes. Even those scenes which recorded events with historical significance were rendered in such a way as to fit into the general scheme of decoration. Thus in the scenes of Sahure's Libyan Campaign and Syrian Expedition the ephemeral qualities of the scenes were sacrificed for the sake of typical, transcendent rendition of the events.

Towards the end of the Old Kingdom, however, and probably due to some diminution in the supremacy of the king, we have remains of scenes in the causeway of Unas that exhibit a famine and war scenes. Likewise, we have the war scenes from Deshasheh and Saqqara; both, particularly the first, show all the elements of a successful narrative.

The crisis of the First Intermediate Period dealt a severe blow to Egyptian society and undermined its self-confidence. Yet it merely shook, it did not destroy, the Egyptian order. Therefore, when the Middle Kingdom

was established society regained its balance and all aspects of life continued very much the same as before. Naturally, there was uneasiness and probably anxiety deep in the conscience of the country, but it chose to ignore them. Hence, although the trend of showing war scenes in the royal and private scenes in the Middle Kingdom was a continuation of that of the late Old Kingdom, the narrative scenes were modified to fit the general scheme; otherwise they can be considered as individualistic ventures.

In the New Kingdom the narrative scenes came as a result of the venture of the whole nation as well as individuals. The Hyksos were the first foreign rulers to humiliate Egypt and prick her pride. Consequently, she lost that sense of security as well as self-confidence. This resulted in the expansionist policy and in building an empire. This was her greatest adventure. The hitherto isolationist Egyptian was confronted by new ideas and conceptions to which he responded with great caution. Thus, although everything was basically the same, some fresh ideas began to enter the Egyptian cultural stream and enriched Egyptian life with new and stimulating colours. Consequently, narrative scenes, though not dominant, increased in both royal and private tombs.

Characteristically, the real stimulus rose in Egypt herself, in Amarna. The Amarna movement with its stress on the visual, rather

than conceptual, aspects of art, and its deliberate neglect of the traditional subject-matter offered full opportunities for narrative art. In fact, Amarna is one of the periods richest in narrative. Yet, the alternative subjects which Amarna produced instead of the traditional ones were very limited. Therefore, narrative in Amarna took on a repetitive quality. However, the impact of the Amarna movement on Egyptian art went further than this. The new ideas of spatial relationships, the treatment of the wall as one entity and the depiction of the king involved in specific events had its influence on the historical and festival scenes in the Ramesside Period.

There is no doubt that the Ramesside era was in many ways the golden age of narrative art. The new stress in depicting their wars and military exploits to emphasise their personal valour and their role as protectors of Egypt prompted the great kings of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties to devote complete walls of their temples to war scenes. The traditional pictogram of the king crushing his enemies was expanded to show him capturing foreign lands and returning in triumph to Egypt to offer the prisoners and spoils of war to the Egyptian gods.

But by the end of the XXth Dynasty Egypt fell into the disorder of the Third Intermediate Period and all the sources of inspiration had already dried up.

The majority of narrative scenes illustrate narrative of action. That

is to say that the scenes almost always depicted the events being performed and the characters already involved in the performances. This applies to royal as well as private scenes. However, the converse existed in which, although there is undoubtedly narrative, there is no action but rather in-action, still-life or the results or aftermath of action. In the scenes of historical events in the Old Kingdom, as the artist did not want to show the king directly involved, he showed the results of the Libyan Campaign and Syrian Expedition in the temple of Sahure. More significant, however, is the famine scene in the causeway of Unas and above all the scene of the devastated city in the temple of Luxor.

The two methods of narrative, the culminating scene and the multiple scenes, were both in use. The first method was applied where the space allocated to the depiction of a certain event was limited. Naturally, the artists had to choose the most significant moment of the event and select the most important characters to be illustrated. The other method, however, was preferred by the artists wherever space permitted. In such a case a number of incidents of a given event was depicted on the walls of a temple or tomb one after the other in a comprehensive, coherent and logical order. We find this most clearly in the Punt reliefs of Hatshepsut and the war scenes of the Ramesside era, for example. In a cycle of episodes like this, one or two scenes occupied prominent positions while the others were

just incidental and could be dropped. Hence, in the private tombs the scenes of the actual rewarding or promotion of an official were more significant than the other incidents of the event. Similarly, in the Ramesside war scenes, the scene showing the king capturing a city or defeating an enemy was repeated from one place to another, rather than the scenes of the celebration of victory, the marching to the war, the distribution of military equipment, etc.

Where the events were depicted in multiple narrative scenes, the episodes were arranged in one strip or in superposed registers. In the latter case, the chronological order of the events developed upwards. Some reward and promotion scenes in private tombs should be excluded. There, as the king took up the central part of the picture, the episodes which followed the rewarding had to occupy subsidiary positions, hence were depicted in the lower parts of the walls.

In many cases the artists paid special attention to the disposition of their scenes on the walls according to significant orientation. Therefore, events that took place in the North would preferably be placed on the northern walls, or parts of the wall, of a temple or tomb. Likewise, scenes that took place in the South were commonly placed on southern walls.

In the treatment of his narrative scenes, the artist was always straight to the point. The details of a setting or landscape were kept to the minimum

as long as they served the artistic and realistic purposes required. This often forced the artists to repeat the same motif again and again. A typical fort on a hill with some few plants scattered around always served the purpose of a fortified Syrian city in the war scenes of the Ramesside era. In the case of the battle of Qadesh a special interest was shown with regard to the topographical features of the site. But even here the city itself was depicted in the conventional Ramesside manner. In the Amarna scenes the case was different with regard to the architectural representations. Here the minutest details of specific places such as the palaces, the temples and private houses were carefully depicted and offered magnificent settings for the narrative scenes.

The same summary treatment was also applied to the participants in an event. They were also kept to the minimum. In the case of the royal scenes, e.g. war scenes, it was always the king alone who acted until the Ramesside Period, then we began to see his children first and then his army directly involved in the events, and even this came rather late. In the case of the private tombs it was the deceased and his closest relatives and friends. In both cases, however, the most important characters were specified by mentioning their names and titles in writing.

Inscriptions played an important role in explaining certain events and specifying particular characters, places and times. However, in many

cases the events depicted were clear enough and their logical order was flowing so that their specific nature was easily recognised.

The distinction between narrative and typical scenes was not so important to the Egyptian artist as it is to us, hence it can be difficult in some cases to make a distinction. Thus, specific events can appear in typical guises, while on the other hand typical events may be rendered with specific details. In conclusion, it is clear that real narrative certainly existed in Egyptian pictorial art, albeit on a modest scale.

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INDEX

N.B. 1st Int.Pd. = First Intermediate Period; G. = Gebel; MH = Medinet Habu; M.K. = Middle Kingdom; N.K. = New Kingdom; O.K. = Old Kingdom; R = Ramesses.

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